

ABSTRACT

KORNEGAY, DONNA CHANDLER. The Influence of Racist Attitudes and Racial Identity Development among White Counselors Within Cross-Racial Counseling Dyads with Black Clients. (Under the direction of Stanley Baker.)

In recent decades, counseling programs have recognized the importance of preparing counselors to become multiculturally competent. Research on White racial attitudes has found that the expression of overt White racism has declined over the last three decades and more subtle forms of racism have surfaced (Duckitt, 1992; Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004). Few studies exist that speak to race-related variables and identity development, therefore, further research is needed. The intent of the present study was to consider the processes that contribute to racism and racist attitudes, racial identity development and race salience within cross-racial counseling. The research questions focused on the racial profile, the relationship between racist attitudes and White racial identity development and race salience of White counselors when working with Black clients.

Sixty White, licensed, practicing counselors were randomly selected to complete the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS), the New Racism Scale (NRS), and the Race Salience Questionnaire.

In the analysis process, descriptive data from the WRIAS and NRS were calculated to determine a racial profile of the participants. An interscale correlation was performed using the WRIAS and NRS scores to determine the relationship between racist attitudes and identity development. The responses from the Race Salience Questionnaire were thematically analyzed to ascertain counselors' race salience. A post hoc multivariate analysis of variance

was conducted because there were not significant findings relative to racist attitudes and identity development.

Pertinent to the descriptive data, participants reported their overall identity development statuses to be primarily in the Autonomy and Pseudo-Independent statuses. Additionally, participants did not attribute race as influential within the cross-racial dyad. There are implications that merit consideration for further research so that counselors may actively engage with their clients regarding racial issues. The limitations that may have affected the results of the study included the constructs of social desirability and response bias. The small sample size was another recognizable limitation in this study. Further research is necessary to more effectively assess the impact of graduate training programs in preparing counselors and to promote self-assessment of personal biases and values when it comes to didactic relationships and multicultural competence.

**THE INFLUENCE OF RACIST ATTITUDES AND RACIAL IDENTITY
DEVELOPMENT AMONG WHITE COUNSELORS WITHIN CROSS-RACIAL
COUNSELING DYADS WITH BLACK CLIENTS**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my family. First, I am amazed at the strength and support of my husband, Dexter. He is my strength, my best friend and soul mate. My daughters, Dalyn and Desmyn, who have been my cheerleaders every step of the way. My mother and father, Carol and Charlie Chandler, who taught me I could accomplish anything I set my mind to. Bettie Kornegay, my mother-in-law, who allows me to be myself and constantly encourages me. Amy, you are more than an aunt to me you have been my extended support and I appreciate all that you have done. Above all others, my Father in heaven, who sustains me daily.

BIOGRAPHY

Donna Chandler Kornegay was born in Halifax, Virginia. She is the only child of Charlie and Carol Chandler. Donna attended Halifax County Senior High School in South Boston, Virginia. After graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of North Carolina at Wilmington in 1990, she accepted a position with Onslow County Department of Social Services as an Investigative Social Worker. Donna relocated to Durham, North Carolina in 1992 and continued within the field of social work with the Durham County Department of Social Services as a Child Protective Services Social Worker. Donna returned to higher education in 1997, completing her master's degree in Counselor Education at North Carolina Central University. While matriculating at North Carolina Central University, Donna was inducted into Chi Sigma Iota Professional Counseling Honor Society in which she remains a current member.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

While many counselors attempt to understand their diverse clients and how their own core values, biases, and beliefs influence the therapeutic process others may not be meeting the needs of Black clients because counselor training is primarily based on White theory and research in White institutions (Kim & Lyons, 2003). Researchers have argued that a major problem in cross-racial relationships in counseling is that many counselors tend to impose their own values on their clients (Ridley, 1995).

How race influences the counseling relationship depends on the counselor–client contact. Lower racial identity of White counselors is associated with more negative working alliances between the White counselor and Black client (Vinson & Neimeyer, 2003). The constructs of race, racism, and racial identity development are presumed by researchers to affect the therapeutic relationship. According to Helms (1990), the term *racial identity* refers to “a sense of group or collective identity based on one’s perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (p. 3). The American Psychological Association’s code of ethics directs counselors to avoid racial bias within the counseling relationship (American Psychological Association [APA], 1992). There is no consensus on how White counselors should deal with the influences of race, racial identity development, and racism or how best to train counselors to meet ethical standards. Research has not provided details about how counselors process and develop their identities so that they are effective in counseling Black clients. Skovholt and Ronnestad (1992) found that counselors

tend to rely on the experts and professors with whom they have contact during their programs in achieving their identity development as professionals. In support, Bruss and Kopala (1993) indicate that counselors develop their identities based on a history of being under the influence of certain authority figures (i.e., counselor educators, supervisors, professors). Given this aspect, counselor educators may want to consider changing some aspects of their approach to multicultural competence within their programs in promoting identity development. What is problematic with this type of research is that the racially biased behaviors that White counselors may exhibit are generally overlooked. Counselor education and counseling psychology have approached the issues of racism, White privilege, and race by considering the outcomes rather than the sources (Rogers-Sirin, 2003). The important contributions of therapists within cross-racial counseling relationships appear to have been underestimated.

The question of whether White counselors can effectively counsel Black clients lacks a theoretical base, according to Helms and Carter (1992). This type of research tends to replace a psychological construct with group membership. The question does not clarify which constructs are related to racism or reveal how to address racism, White privilege, or racial identity development.

A more useful question might be to find out what factors are associated with White therapists' racist attitudes or lack of racist attitude. This question would allow researchers to explore the source rather than the result of racism. Whether White counselors are able to counsel Black clients is irrelevant because any within-group differences are ignored.

Racial bias is not unique to White therapists. Research indicates that Black and other minority therapists have demonstrated racial bias within therapy (Li-Ripac, 1980), so why consider only White therapists? One main reason is that Whites benefit from or are privileged by racism. Therefore, the thoughts, behaviors, and attitudes of White counselors are likely to be different than those of Black or minority counselors. These attitudes and behaviors are likely to be associated with racial attitudes and behaviors as a result of the privilege Whites gain through racism.

The present research considers only the processes that contribute to racism rather than the effects of racism within counseling because most research speaks to the effects and outcomes of racism rather than matters that are occurring during the therapeutic process. Carter (1990) and Helms (1984) suggested the need to study and understand how Whites see themselves as racial beings, something that most White racial identity models neglect to consider, rather than focusing on how Whites view others (Rogers-Sirin, 2003). While considerable research indicates the negative effects of racism between White counselors and Black clients, the studies lack sufficient information about what causes racial bias and racist attitudes. Broad questions have been the focus in most of the research that addresses the influence of racial issues on the counseling process, according to Carter and Helms (1992). Furthermore, Carter and Helms (1992) note that varying levels of racial identity development among White counselors contribute to qualitatively different outcomes within the counseling process for Black clients. The White counselor who is more progressive in his or her racial identity is likely to experience more positive outcomes in cross-racial dyads. Therefore, existing literature offers little information on how to address racism in training White counselors,

which creates dissension between White counselors and their Black clients. Such dissension often leads Blacks to terminate counseling services or not seek counseling services at all. As a result, Terrell and Terrell (1981) identified four areas in which Blacks display a mistrust of Whites: (a) educational and training settings, (b) political and legal systems, (c) work and business interactions, and (d) interpersonal and social contexts. Additionally, researchers have failed to explore the racial socialization and resultant behaviors in therapy provided by White therapists. In the context of therapy, the socialization of White counselors is likely to effect the reaction of Black clients (Helms & Cook, 1999).

Investigating the behaviors and attitudes of White counselors who serve Black clients is important because a growing body of research points to the likelihood that Black clients may receive substandard treatment more often than do White clients. For example, some studies show that Black clients receive less therapeutic time with their White counselors than do White clients (Rogers-Sirin, 2003). Black clients are also more likely to be prescribed medication at higher dosages and are more likely to be restrained than are White clients (Bond, DiCandia, & MacKinnon, 1988). By studying the variables that may influence racism, racial bias, and White privilege, valuable information may emerge that can be used to create more appropriate training models for White counselors and to address treatment deficits for Black clients.

Research that addresses the racist attitudes of White Americans in counseling is scarce (Bowser & Hunt, 1996). Societal and White racism have influenced the cross-racial dyads in counseling that tend to promote feelings of guilt, shame, and confusion in the White counselor (Carter & Jones, 1996). Perception and outcome research has begun to focus on the

role of White racial identity attitudes in understanding the dynamics of racism (Carter & Jones, 1996; Utsey & Gernat, 2002). Helms (1990) contended that Whites must accept their *whiteness* and acknowledge the ways in which they benefit from racism in order to move toward a nonracist identity. Hence, culturally encapsulated White counselors adhere to the racist attitudes and behaviors of society and are unaware of their own behaviors and worldviews. Ponterotto (1988) indicated that Whites must assess their racial identity development as the first step in the process of self-exploration and in facilitating a change in their race-related attitudes.

Helms' (1990) model of racial identity development provides a theoretical framework for examining the influence of White socialization and Black experiences, respectively. Helms' model offers a means of exploring the factors that contribute to racially biased attitudes and behaviors (Rogers-Sirin, 2003). The model demonstrates the result of one's socio-racial socialization. Socio-racial socialization influences attitudes toward one's own racial group and other racial groups. Helms' White racial identity model (1990) consists of six racial statuses. Helms and Cook (1999) labeled these statuses as cognitive-affective-conative (the mental processes directed toward action or change), intrapsychic principles for responding to racial stimuli in one's internal and external environments. This model has important implications for the study of racism in counseling. For example, Carter (1995) argued that a White counselor's racial identity schemata influences how he or she responds to Black clients. How the White counselor perceives the Black client is also important in defining the therapeutic relationship. Thus, Helms' White racial identity development model provides a

framework with which to consider how White counselors' attitudes and beliefs contribute to the presence or absence of racism in their work as counselors (Rogers-Sirin, 2003).

Theorists have hypothesized that Black clients will be less receptive to counseling when the counselor is White (Kim & Lyons, 2003). Therefore, White therapists are often charged with being unable to empathize or understand Black culture (Helms, 1990). Steele and Davis (1983) questioned whether and how race is relevant to the counseling process and the significance of racial attitudes and racial identity of the participants involved, particularly Black clients. An important assumption is that racial identity is a critical part of the overall makeup of personal and collective identity for most Blacks (Cross, 1995). However, racial identity and race are difficult constructs to define and are not always adequately taken into account by White counselors.

White Identity Attitudes

Over the past several decades, awareness of the influence of race on the counseling relationship has increased. There are efforts to explain the many ways in which race and culture influence the counselor, the client, and the counseling process (Gushue & Carter, 2000). Recent research has attempted to demonstrate the need for more effective treatment strategies and counselor training that includes multicultural competence. Geller (1988) suggested that cognitive bias (i.e., stereotyping) is one contributing factor to cultural incompetence in the practice of counseling. Most often White counselors tend to use the method of illusory correlation when counseling minority clients (Hamilton, 1981). That is, the White counselor believes that he or she knows something about the client, when in fact the information is based on a stereotype (Hamilton). Wampold, Casas, and Atkinson (1982)

found evidence that illusory correlations are prevalent among White counselors when processing information about minority clients (Gushue & Carter, 2000). Often what these messages do is suggest that ethnic identity outside of the mainstream is not desirable. Similarly, White Americans are less likely to notice ethnicity and race, which may suggest why racial issues are not addressed so easily within the counseling relationship. Like race, racial ethnic identity provides a structure for understanding how individuals negotiate their values and cultures based on group membership and physical characteristics (Ott, 1989). Counselors should be privy to these structures so that they understand the Black client's experiences and how that individual negotiates his or her environment. The White counselor must be aware of these constructs and possess a keen ability to compare and contrast the client's many perspectives. More often White counselors discount these constructs and fail to value the alternatives necessary when working with Black clients. Jones and Seagull (1977) suggest that White counselors who project an image of colorblindness fail to confront racial differences that may impact the counseling process, thereby stalling the relationship. Pomales, Claiborn and LaFromboise (1986) documented support that Blacks view colorblindness as negative. Therefore, counselors must be sensitive and put into practice the multicultural and self-reflective skills that suggest the counselor's effectiveness and sincerity (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

Interestingly, White counselors tend to manifest their ethnic and racial identity in mostly unconscious ways. These identities are often exhibited through behaviors, value systems, beliefs, and assumptions. Minorities, on the other hand, manifest their racial and ethnic identities in conscious ways, which are triggered through [two] conflicting social and cultural

influences (Chavez & DiBrito, 1999). These experiences, unlike White Americans, are rooted in deep conscious immersion into cultural traditions, religious values, familial, neighborhood and community ties that instill positive racial identity and confidence. Second, and in contrast, minorities tend to filter racial identity through the negative treatment, experiences, and media messages as a result of their race (Gushue & Carter, 2000).

The psychological orientation of Whites to race and societal racism toward minorities has been proposed by Helms (1995) to delineate among individuals. Whites acquire a level of race-based social schemas that may be defined as low prejudice or high prejudice (Devine, 1989). Additionally, some Whites do not differ in their knowledge of racial stereotypes, but the low prejudice White individual is able to inhibit and replace stereotype-based thoughts, whereas the high prejudice individual does not (Gushue & Carter, 2000). In relating this process to Helms' (1984) model, Whites tend to vary their understanding of race for not only themselves but others as well in the context of societal racism. Therefore, Whites are motivated by acceptance or rejection of prevalent racial ideologies and their dependence on racial stereotypes in processing information (Gushue & Carter, 2000).

Helms (1995) suggested that the various racial identity ego statuses are related to varying degrees of information-processing strategies. For example, an individual who is said to be in the contact status of Helms' (1995) model may consider him- or herself as color blind to race. That is, a person who is said to be colorblind, does not see race as relevant and suggests that one's color does not matter. Although some people tend to think this is a laudable goal, it is not because this type of naiveté toward race may cause stereotype-based thoughts to be less important. Consequently, the processing of racial information may be characterized by denial

or avoidance (Helms, 1995). Conversely, there is an intense emotional upheaval that causes conflict for Whites on an individual and social level. The individual must struggle with being an ethical person while dealing with the internal pressures to preserve White privilege (Gushue & Carter, 2000). Helms (1995) suggested that the coping method for Whites in the disintegration status, when there is inner turmoil, might be to suppress the information. For instance, the confusion and uncertainty of disintegration may cause increased sensitivity to racial cues and increased stereotype-based expectations. Similarly, the reintegration status, characterized by dichotomous attitudes, may distort information that tends to favor Whites (Gushue & Carter, 2000). Progression toward the pseudo-independent status is marked by a set of beliefs that leans toward the politically correct stance regarding racial groups. The White person in this status is characterized further by reshaping and adapting to a more liberal framework (Helms, 1995). Typically, during this stage, there is a shift in beliefs and how the individual relates race-based schemas in cognitive processing. For example, the socially acquired stereotypes about Blacks have less influence and are further removed from the White individual's racist identity while moving toward a new, more positive White identity. Last, the most evolved status, autonomy, is characterized by an analysis and response to racial material (Gushue & Carter, 2000). The person in this status is aware of racial schemas but does not identify with them, thereby having little impact on how the individual responds (Helms, 1984).

In summary, the extent that the various racial identity statuses moderate one's racial schemas is greatly influenced by one's own cognitive processing of racial information (Helms, 1995). A person's predominant status tends to take on the characteristics of that

status and the more evolved statuses allow the person to attain a critical distance from the prevailing racist stereotypes (Gushue & Carter, 2000).

Black and White Counseling Gap

The counseling profession has recently begun to focus on the competencies of interpersonal interactions of the counselor and client with attention to race, culture, and ethnicity. The history of the United States has reflected the economic, political, and educational power of the White male. This perspective is an important factor in the development of multicultural counseling competencies because Whites have been the normative cultural group, whereas other racial and ethnic groups have been measured by the yardstick of the dominant culture (Arredondo et al., 1996). The typical counseling interaction involving minorities often consists of a White counselor with a person of color (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992), usually a Black individual. While this is the most common dyad, it is not the counseling interaction to which counseling programs or texts refer. Interestingly, the American Association for Marriage and Family Therapy (AAMFT, 1996), reports the number of clinically trained mental health personnel in the United States as 433, 519, which includes counselors, marriage and family therapists, psychiatrists, psychologists and social workers. Of that number 95.4% are White and 3.2% are Black.

One reason that Black clients have difficulty relating to some White counselors or some Whites in general is often related to the history of oppression of Blacks and their socialization within the United States to deny or hide their true feelings, especially when relating to Whites (Grier & Cobbs, 1968). Self-disclosure by Black clients to White counselors is an issue simply because they are mistrustful of Whites (Ridley, 1984). In

addition to mistrust, Blacks who seek counseling often find it problematic because there is an under-representation of Black professional counselors compared to their representation within the general population. Thus, Blacks who are to receive counseling are less likely to do so with a counselor of their own race. The problem from the start is cultural mistrust that guides the Black client–White counselor relationship and must be tackled at the initiation of counseling (Ridley, 1984).

Another reason why cross-racial dyads do not often work is the result of cultural blindness. White counselors must be willing to overcome the barriers that prevent them from developing relationships with their Black clients. Self-disclosure is essential in the counseling process, so White counselors must be able to discuss openly the racial differences between them and their Black clients rather than demonstrate an image of colorblindness, especially when race is often a relevant issue to the Black client (Jones & Seagull, 1977). Blacks view a counselor who projects him- or herself as colorblind as too insecure or too arrogant to acknowledge that racial differences are important, an attitude the Black client views negatively. A culturally sensitive counselor does not allow race to break down the counseling process and recognizes that the history and socialization of Blacks are issues that may need to be addressed should the client present with these issues (Poston, Craine, & Atkinson, 1991).

Another significant pitfall for White counselors is the counselor's intention regarding the client (Freedman, 1996). When considering the notion of intention, the counselor should be in a position to offer unconditional and nonjudgmental acceptance of the client. Instead of applying generic techniques that are detached and uninvolved, the counselor must come from a stance that considers the client's fundamental wholeness and goodness (Freedman, 1996).

The counselor must consider multicultural counseling as more than a program or class, but instead as a way of life that he or she constantly practices. As a part of their practice, White counselors must have a worldview that speaks to the socio-emotional characteristics of the Black client (Freedman, 1996).

Katz (1985) believes that the assumptions of some White counselors about their Black clients typically do not include the Black client's life experiences, resulting in an initial disconnect that threatens to stall the therapeutic relationship. A meaningful challenge for the White counselor would be to combat any stereotypes and biases in cross-racial counseling dyads that can resemble counselor resistance. Carter (1990) and Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1992) have all linked racial identity development as an important outcome component in counseling that may be a factor in the decrease of negative racial attitudes and the increase of racial awareness. White counselors who exhibit competence and insight may contemplate about the motivations and behaviors of Black clients (Freedman, 1996).

For the White counselor working with the Black client, a central question is what does work within the cross-racial counseling dyad. Typically, it is not analysis but, rather, activities (i.e., storytelling, music, and drawing) that produce a viable counseling relationship. These types of activities speak to the mind, body, spirit, and feelings of the Black client rather than to abstract matters. Similarly, White counselors must be aware of the many important distinctions that result simply as a result of race and cultural differences.

Class is another relevant cultural distinction within cross-racial dyads. White counselors may fail to see observed behaviors of other cultures as resulting from physical and environmental adversity (Sue & Sue, 1990). A counselor who is not progressive in his or her

racial identity development may attribute mental health issues to only lower class clients. For example, some activities relevant to the Black experience are the handing down from generation to generation of racist attitudes through storytelling, behaviors, and feelings. The initiation of this process is likely to have occurred during slavery in which children were raised to fit into a segregated society. Blacks were forced to learn how to interact with Whites without risking reprimand or death. Blacks learned to express indirectly their aggression and attempt to perceive the thoughts of others, while not disclosing their own thoughts and engaging in accommodating behaviors (Willie, Kramer, & Brown, 1973). Therefore, Blacks react similarly within cross-racial counseling dyads, carefully monitoring their behaviors while not exposing themselves to potential psychological harm (Sue & Sue, 1990). The White counselor must be mindful of the issues of trust and must proceed with therapeutic care to establish rapport.

Interestingly, all of what a White counselor discusses and perceives with his or her client in the cross-racial counseling dyad goes back to the notion that White counselors must effectively address their own biases, stereotypes, values and assumptions (Sue & Sue, 1990). The counselor must make additional efforts to become culturally aware of their clients' different worldviews. A final personal and professional responsibility of the White counselor is to develop and utilize appropriate practice and intervention strategies that consider the client's ethnic and racial experiences (Sue & Sue, 1990). The White counselor who fails to confront, acknowledge, and practice cultural sensitivity will not maintain an effective counseling relationship with his or her Black clients. The reality is whether in a counseling or personal relationship, racism permeates every aspect of American culture and institutions

(Freedman, 1996). Until most White counselors come to realize they are socialized to have racist attitudes, whether knowingly or unknowingly, they will continue to have difficulty in establishing effective relationships within cross-racial dyads.

Importance of Cross-racial Counseling Constructs

In examining the constructs of cross-racial counseling dyads, it is important to recognize that all counseling is cross-cultural in nature. Additionally, the racial influences in counseling occur in a context that is predicated on institutional and societal biases (Arredondo, 1999). Therefore, it is not surprising that White counselors have not questioned the dynamics of race and racial identity development. This assumption is reasonable because counseling itself was designed primarily in the image of its creators, White males. Thus, counseling models are based on normative behaviors of White individuals. Therefore, when other races or ethnicities do not meet the demographic measures of Whiteness, the White counselor tends to assume there is a deficiency in the racially different client (Arredondo, 1990).

Race and racial identity development are important constructs to examine within the cross-racial counseling relationship for various reasons. In Helms' (1990) model of White racial identity development, she suggested that the theory of racial identity involves psychological implications of racial group membership. These belief systems evolved in reaction to the perceived notion of differences among racial group membership (Tatum, 1994). Particularly in the United States, race is more than emphasized. The notion of racial superiority and inferiority remains a distinct attitude for some. Race in the context of counseling has multiple implications for the White counselor–Black client relationship. One such implication is that a White counselor who acknowledges race and has specific

understandings of his or her own racial and cultural heritage is able to perceive how race affects the personal and professional process of counseling. On the other hand, a counselor who does not possess specific knowledge regarding race and the normative behavior patterns of racially different persons would be unable to consider the cultural and racial differences within and across racial groups and how other demographics variables (i.e., age, gender, socioeconomic status) interact within cross-racial relationships (Arrendondo, 1999).

Race as a social construct has implications for both the counselor and the client because both individuals may come to the relationship with preconceived ideas based solely on race. However, the construct of racial identity development has stronger implications for the White counselor than for the Black client because the White counselor must be in a position of awareness relative to the attitudes and behaviors of Black clients so that counseling process is one of growth for the Black client. A White counselor's racial identity development is relative to his or her personal and professional development and how the counselor understands the concepts of internalized oppression, institutional racism, privilege, and the historical and current political climate regarding immigration, welfare, and poverty (Arredondo et al., 1996). Uniquely a counselor whose racial identity development is progressive will be able to identify his or her own negative and positive emotional reactions that may be detrimental or affirming in the cross-racial counseling dyad. White counselors who are willing to contrast nonjudgmentally their own beliefs and values when working with their racially different clients are more skilled, multiculturally competent counselors than those who are not. For example, a White counselor who understands his or her own emotional reactions in racially different situations can articulate more effectively the

emotions felt in racially challenging situations (Arredondo et al., 1996). This aspect of competence is only one of many skill-based competencies that a counselor must possess.

Race is a relevant factor within cross-racial counseling relationships because the experiences the Black client brings to the dyad have social and historical value that are based upon one's racial identity. A White counselor who can specifically identify, name, and discuss the benefits of White privilege and the effects that privilege has on other races demonstrates an awareness of and respect for the overt differences between the races. This type of acknowledgment of race and racism by White counselors tends to be rare, according to D'Andrea (1999). White counselors must be ready to discuss the issues of racism so as to have a broader effect on others (D'Andrea, 1999). However, for Whites to move forward regarding racism means moving beyond their own comfort zone. Dealing with racism means recognizing one's own role in racism and its impact on society as a whole. Seemingly, White counselors must be knowledgeable and aware of racism, comprehending how their own socialization can influence their experiences and perceptions of themselves and minorities (D'Andrea, 1999). Furthermore, for a White counselor to address issues of racism means considering his or her collective experiences as a White individual and the powerful associations that accompany White status. The White counselor who comes full circle recognizes how racism is manifested on an individual, systematic, and institutional level (Constantine, 1999). Even through this process of understanding the effects of racism, encounter or life altering experiences for Whites tend to be the most valuable in initiating their journey in dealing with racism just as encounter experiences for Blacks moves the Black client in an exploratory process. The White counselor, who becomes aware of his or her role

in perpetuating racism, whether overtly or covertly, arrives at being able to empathize with people of color (Herring, 1999). Although empathy may be necessary in establishing a positive counseling relationship with the Black client, the White counselor must have similar devaluing or demoting experiences in order to relate the experience of racism to the Black client.

The constructs of race, ethnicity, and racial identity are often complex and difficult terms to define (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999), arising in part from the tendency of researchers to use these terms interchangeably and a lack of consistency in their meanings (Harris, 1995). Racial identity has been misunderstood and debated for some time. Some meanings for racial identity are derived from both a social and biological dimension. The biological dimensions of race consist of physical features, gene pools, and the like. As a social construct, racial identity is a sense of belonging and identification with a particular group. However, skin color tends to remain the basis for group membership whether socially or biologically. Skin color is the tool most often used to label others and to create distance by those who believe in a superior difference among the races (O'Hearn, 1998). How Black individuals are treated and how they look is based on surface manifestations of racial identity (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

Group membership continues to be one way to identify ethnicity and ethnicity is considered a social construct just as race. Ethnic identity is characterized by the notion of a common thread among individuals that bond them based on tradition, behavior, values, and beliefs. Ethnic identity does involve an individual's high sense of cultural values and beliefs.

Yet, ethnicity and race are linear, stepwise progressions within psychosocial and cognitive categories that proceed a lifetime (Guido-DiBrito, 1999).

Rationale of the Study

The influences of race, racist attitudes, and racial identity development on cross-racial counseling should be examined because the Black experience is often viewed through the lens of the dominant culture, resulting in a consistent misdiagnosis or distorted interpretation of the Black experience (Baldwin & Bell, 1985) that Blacks may perceive as evidence of racial intolerance. Racial intolerance has forced many minorities to distance themselves psychologically from the dominant culture (Burt & Halpin, 1998). Additionally, there is an ongoing debate about the most effective ways to reach multicultural awareness within academic programs (Parker, Moore, & Neimeyer, 1988). According to Helms and Cook (1999), there is a deliberate avoidance of ways to teach therapists how to attend or not attend to racial and cultural dynamics. Theorists agree that racial identity models, such as Helms (1990), might provide a means of addressing counselors' attention to racial issues within multicultural training (Helms, 1984). Ultimately, for White counselors to have a healthy White racial identity, they must be willing to relinquish their racist attitudes. There is also a challenge for White counselors to move toward a nonracist identity, so that greater self-awareness is achieved and behaviors toward people of color change as a result of this new awareness. This research exposes the benefits of racial identity development within cross-racial dyads. Whites who work toward a healthy identity are able to consider the perspectives of others and attain a greater understanding of racism and how he or she has perpetuated racism through their own behaviors and attitudes.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this quantitative study will be to investigate the influence of the constructs of White racial identity development and White attitudes pertaining to race and how these attitudes influence cross-racial counseling dyads. More specifically, this study will consider the Black client–White counselor perspective within cross-racial counseling relationships. The data collected will provide those in the counseling field with information about the factors (i.e., race, racist attitudes, and racial identity development) that influence the cross-racial counseling dyad and the implications of cross-racial counseling. Moreover, the results of this study may provide data to support the notion of considering the process rather than the outcome of cross-racial relationships relative to racism and racial identity development within counseling dyads. Hence, this study may provide empirical data that are practical for both scientific and clinical approaches within the counseling field.

Research Questions

The researcher will focus on the White racial identity development of White counselors and the influence of race and racist attitudes within cross-racial counseling relationships with Black clients. The research questions that guide this study will be: (a) What does the racial profile of a White counselor look like? (b) What is the relationship between racist attitudes and White racial identity development in White professional counselors? and (c) How important is race to White counselors when working with Black clients? In addressing these questions, two important concerns are investigated: (a) the possibility that a counselor's racial identity development may affect his or her competence and clinical decision-making as

a result of race, and (b) the possibility that racist attitudes may relate to racial bias that may negatively influence the cross-racial counseling relationship.

Definition of Terms

- Black identity development:** A movement from the unconscious to the conscious in developing a positive frame of reference for the Black individual (Parham, 1989).
- Colorblindness:** “The denial, distortion, and/or minimization of race and racism” (Neville, Spaniermann, & Doan, 2006, p. 276). A framework comprised of individuals, groups and systems used to justify racial inequalities (Neville, et al., 2006).
- Minority:** “Persons or groups identified by the federal government to be members of a group that is numerically less than those of other groups within the United States” (Arredondo et al., 1996, p. 30).
- Multicultural counseling:** “The preparation and practices that integrate multicultural and culture-specific awareness, knowledge and skills into counseling interactions” (Arredondo, et al., 1996, p. 1).
- Race:** A biological category that comprises specific characteristics that include one’s physical features, genetic make-up, and character qualities (Spickard, 1992). Casa (1984) mentioned biology in defining race, with subgroups possessing specific physical and genetic qualities that distinguish them from other subgroups.

Racial identity	A sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group (Helms, 1990, p. 3).
Racism:	“A system of exclusion and privilege, and a set of culturally acceptable linguistic or ideological constructions that define one's location in that system” (Wellman, 1993, p. 25). A doctrine that race is the determining factor to assess human abilities and/or qualities (Arredondo et al., 1996).
Socioracial socialization:	The attitudes and perceptions one has toward other racial groups based on societal messages (Helms, 1990).
White identity development:	Progression from a racist frame of reference to a nonracist White identity. The process, according to Helms (1995), is more of how Whites perceive, feel, and behave toward Blacks rather than a conscious developmental process.
White privilege:	“The belief that only one's own standards and opinions are accurate, to the exclusion of all other standards and opinions, and these standards and opinions are defined and supported by Whites in a way to continually reinforce social distance between groups, thereby allowing Whites to dominate, control access to, and escape challenges from racial and ethnic minorities” (Hays & Chang, 2003, p. 135).
Worldview:	The held presuppositions and assumptions about the makeup

of one's relationship to the world (Arredondo et al., 1996).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Overview

In this chapter, the theoretical and research literature related to cross-racial counseling is presented, namely Cross's (1971) Nigresence theory of Black racial identity development and Helms' (1990) White racial identity theory and white racism. Both theories depict the process by which White and Black individuals move forward in an effort to attain a healthy identity or a self-accepting identity, respectively. It is necessary to explore the influence of race, racism, and White privilege on cross-racial counseling dyads to provide a knowledge base by which counselors can establish competence and understand their clients, more specifically Black clients' emotional, behavioral, and psychological development and themselves as White individuals.

Cross-Racial Counseling and Multicultural Competence

Cross-Racial Counseling

Cross-racial counseling and multicultural competence have been linked since the initial stirrings of the multicultural movement in the 1950s. Wrenn (1962) encouraged counselors to recognize their cultural encapsulation so they could deal with and overcome it. This emphasis expanded the view that culture is an integral part of one's being (Parks, Carter, & Gushue, 1996). Relevant to this idea is that the counselor's cross-cultural awareness is presumed to influence the therapeutic alliance. Cross-cultural competence has been related to higher levels of multicultural counseling client contact, higher enactment of culture-sensitive roles, the evaluation of cultural sensitivity in other counselors, and advanced levels of racial identity development (Sodowsky, Kuo-Jackson, Richardson, & Corey, 1998; Vinson & Neimeyer, 2003). Some researchers have suggested a link between racial identity development and multicultural counseling competency

because manipulation of one variable has been shown to increase the other (Vinson & Neimeyer, 2003).

In racial identity development, the assumption is often that if one is able to counsel others who are different from oneself, then one attains greater understanding of one's own culture and racial identity (Phinney & Tarver, 1989; Vinson & Neimeyer, 2003). Racial identity development has been investigated as a significant construct of multicultural counseling competence. Daniels (2001) emphasized that attention must be paid to the client's ego status and the White counselor's racial identity when cross-racial counseling occurs. Therefore, the White counselor is challenged to have an advanced level of self-awareness at the onset.

While many counselors attempt to understand their diverse clients and how their own core values, biases, and beliefs affect the therapeutic process (Kim & Lyons, 2003), other counselors may not be meeting the needs of Black clients because counselor training is primarily based on White theory and White research in White institutions. An historical perspective of Black clients seems to be missing (Wilson & Stith, 1991). Jackson (1995) defined multicultural counseling as "counseling that takes place between or among individuals from different cultural backgrounds" (p. 3). This definition is significant to note because the number of ethnic and racial minorities in the United States has greatly increased over the past 20 years. Multicultural counseling competence has proven to be such a significant factor in the therapeutic dynamic that the American Psychological Association (APA, 1992) considers it unethical for a counselor to provide therapy to ethnic clients without first receiving some form of multicultural training (Kim & Lyons, 1992). Similarly, the most recent standards of the Council for Accreditation for Counseling and Related Educational Programs (CACREP, 2001) have been modified to influence the training of future counselors in counselor education programs nationwide so that counselors

are better prepared for the diverse clients they will serve upon graduation from their entry-level programs.

According to Ridley (1995), a major problem in cross-racial relationships in counseling is that most counselors tend to impose their own values on their clients, whether consciously or unconsciously. Counselors must be willing to examine themselves and how their own culture influences personal values, beliefs, and behaviors of others. Furthermore, counselors must be willing to acknowledge the client's world rather than viewing the client through their own cultural lens (Chung & Bemak, 2002). The traditional approach to counseling has emphasized individual differences without considering the broader social influences.

Recognition of the profound influence of race, culture, and ethnicity on an individual's life experiences and worldview, as well as the influences on the counseling relationship, is indeed powerful (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993). Pedersen (1991) labeled the multicultural view as the fourth force in psychology. Multiculturalism is second in scope to gender (women more specifically), thus representing a significant transformation of a discipline in only a few years. As a result, discussions within cross-cultural counseling literature have been focused on three major topics: (a) racial identity development, (b) acculturation, and (c) counselor–client matching (Heath, Neimeyer, & Pedersen, 1988). Racial identity development, according to Helms (1990), refers to a sense of collective identity that develops from an awareness of a shared racial and ethnic heritage. Most often racial identity development is equated with Black racial identity, which theorizes a psychological continuum of Black identity that is marked at one end of the continuum by an acceptance of the dominant culture's devaluation of Blacks to an overvaluation of Whites (pre-encounter). Thus, racial identity development progresses in a series of stages that is marked by conflict and reactivity (encounter, immersion/emersion) to a self-affirming inner security and pride in one's Blackness (internalization, commitment). Ultimately, the process of identity

development is thought to be life-long and recursive (Parham, 1989) as individuals recycle through stages depending on experiences and personal readiness (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993).

Ponterotto and Casas (1987) assert that acculturation is a process of change that occurs when an individual of one culture comes into contact with another. Research has been devoted to relating the acculturation level to counseling-relevant variables. These variables are numerous and include counselor credibility, expectations about counseling, and preference for ethnically similar counselors (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993). Sue and Zane (1987) noted that the ascribed status (role assignment by others) and the achieved status (actual skills) of a counselor enhance the credibility among Black clients. Additionally, Sue and Zane (1987) contend that cultural match is necessary and can be operationalized so there is a fit between the client and therapist views of (a) the client's problems, (b) the means of solving those problems, and (c) the goals for treatment.

In examining the role of ethnic match in psychotherapy and the counselor–client match, Sue (1991) concluded that the wrong question has been posed and suggested that treatment studies have failed to demonstrate differential outcomes (i.e., client improvement) on the basis of therapist–client ethnic match or client race or ethnicity. Sue further argued that ethnicity is a distal variable within the counseling relationship and is less likely to be linked to treatment outcomes than variables that are more closely linked to the therapeutic encounter. What therapists may not consider is that an individual's ethnicity reveals little about their attitudes and behaviors. However, there are powerful coded cultural meanings related to ethnicity that may suggest how one understands the world, behaves, and senses the world.

Multicultural Competence

While ethnicity and race play an important role within the therapeutic alliance, another variable just as significant is the therapist's multicultural competence. There has been an increased awareness of meeting the needs of minority clients within the past two decades in

mental health professions. Although multicultural competence and issues in training have been acknowledged for the past 30 years, serious attention has been given only recently on a national level (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993). As a result, the recruiting and training of ethnic minorities for careers in mental health and the revision of graduate school curricula to ensure that mental health professionals are competent to provide services to culturally diverse clients have become two major concerns. Some non-minority faculty members have resisted these changes because their position is that multicultural knowledge is a specialized field, thereby requiring more changes in the education of counselors. Another problem in implementing these changes is the limited number of minority faculty to spearhead such training. Most curricula comprise only special courses instead of multicultural training that is acceptable to accreditation criteria (D'Andrea, Daniels, & Heck, 1991).

Multicultural training programs vary widely. Lefly (1985) discussed the advantages and disadvantages of additive versus substitutive training, noting that the distinction between the two is the degree to which multicultural training is in addition to rather than traditional, clinical training. However, both approaches have risks that could limit multicultural issues from becoming integral concepts of the mental health field. Similarly, D'Andrea and Daniels (1991) examined the varying levels and stages of academic training programs relative to multicultural training. They described four stages of multicultural awareness that characterize academic training programs: cultural entrenchment, cross-cultural awakening, cultural integrity, and cultural infusion. The first stage characterizes an absence of multicultural training and an ethnocentric perspective (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993). Programs in the cross-cultural awakening stage recognize the inadequacy of traditional approaches for addressing the mental health needs of culturally diverse populations but offer no systematic alternatives. Cultural integrity, the third stage, is the most common in academic programs and tends to require students to complete

courses on multicultural issues. Finally, cultural infusion is the stage in which academic programs have infused multicultural issues throughout the curriculum, often developing interdisciplinary models (Copeland, 1982). Although the infusion stage is the most desirable, it is the most difficult for academic administrators to implement (Betz & Fitzgerald, 1993).

Multicultural training curricula have been in the making for over a decade, and despite advances in training curricula, more effort is needed to ensure multicultural training is engaged in a serious and sustained manner. The body of work in multiculturalism reflects a fundamental transformation of a discipline in which only a few years ago ethnicity and race were not considered and primarily on Caucasian experiences and norms.

Cross's Model and Black Racial Identity Development

Cross's Nigrescence theory has played a major role in the conceptualization of Black identity over the past 30 years. The Nigrescence model was first proposed in 1971 and depicts the "process of becoming Black" through stages identified as the Negro-to-Black identity transformation that many Black adults experience (Cross, 1991). The Nigrescence theory further describes the process of accepting and affirming a Black identity. Cross's stages characterize the process of moving from Black self-hatred to Black self-acceptance (Vandiver, 2001). This model is also useful in relation to counseling Black clients, as it suggests the psychological development of Blacks.

Cross's original Nigrescence model (1971) had five identity stages, which were pre-encounter (pre-discovery), encounter (discovery), immersion-emersion, internalization, and commitment. In the pre-encounter stage, a Black individual's identity is programmed to view the world as non-Black or anti-Black and the individual's worldview is based on Euro-American values (Cross, 1971). The pre-encounter individual also has a distorted view of Black history, believing that Blacks come from a dark, uncivilized continent and that slavery was actually a civilizing

experience. Cross (1991) argued that the pre-existing identity of the Black individual is a non-Afrocentric position that needs to be changed. The extreme racial attitude found in the pre-encounter stage is anti-Blackness. Typically, persons in the pre-encounter stage devalue their Blackness and, instead, usually find their value in their religion, profession, or social status. Blacks in this stage often perceive Whites as superior and are themselves distrusting of other Blacks. For example, Black-controlled businesses or organizations are mistrusted or avoided by individuals in the pre-encounter stage (Cross, 1971). Self-hatred, low self-esteem, and impaired personality are a few of the traits of individuals in this stage.

Individuals typically move to the encounter stage, Cross's second stage, because of an event or series of events (encounter) that make the individual question the role of race in American society (Vandiver, 2001) and, furthermore, that initiates his or her interpretation of the world as a result of the encounter (Cross 1971). In most situations a person's identity will defend against change, so he or she has to experience an event that shatters the relevance of the person's current identity (Cross, 1991). Moreover, the type of experience leads the person in specific direction for resocialization. Racist encounters, for example, can shatter a pre-encounter individual's conception of himself or herself and confuse the person's understanding of self and society. The recent cross burnings in Durham [2005] served as an encounter moment for many pre-encounter Blacks. In the encounter stage, the individual's goal becomes understanding as a result of the individual being jolted into considering a different interpretation of the Black experience. To challenge the person's worldview, however, the encounter must be personalized and not necessarily a negative event (Cross, 1991). The encounter creates a range of emotions that forms a psychic energy, thrusting the person into a frantic quest for Black identity. A more Afrocentric person begins to emerge during this stage and the anti-Black identity is dispelled (Cross, 1971).

The immersion-emersion stage of Nigrescence, the third stage, addresses the most sensational aspect of Black identity. The individual who moves into this stage from the encounter stage has not changed but is, rather, committed to change. This stage is not subtle and tends to demolish the individual's old perspective while simultaneously creating a new frame of reference (Cross, 1991). The person is immersed into Blackness, and being Black becomes his or her focus. The immersion is powerful and is sustained by rage, guilt, and a new sense of pride (Cross, 1971). The person adopts a new style of clothing, gets involved exclusively in Black activities, and allows every facet of his or her life to be consumed with Blackness. A strong anti-White stance is taken, often dehumanizing Whites (Vandiver, 2001).

The internalization stage is characterized by the individual experiencing a balance of affect and cognition, which results in an abandonment of anti-White sentiment and movement from the immersion-emersion stage into the internalization stage (Vandiver, 2001). In the internalization stage, the individual forges toward a new identity that gives high salience to Blackness (Cross, 1991). The intellectual and emotional acceptance of being Black is a large component of this stage, but being Black is no longer the single most important identity. Instead, the individual explores other aspects of his or her being (Vandiver, 2001). Cross (1971) identified the internalization stage in his original Nigrescence model as Black acceptance. This acceptance results in changes in the individual's worldview, value orientation, ideology, or reference group, but there are no changes in general psychological functioning or personality. A person's acceptance of his or her Blackness does not necessarily change his or her psychological functioning, exempt him or her from depression, or change personality characteristics, but, rather, the person's reference group orientation is changed and internalized Blacks shed stereotypical and unjustified pro-race and anti-race attitudes (Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Cokley, Cross, & Worrell, 2001).

Assuming that the person continues his or her development, internalization-commitment is the fifth and final stage of Cross's (1971) model. The new identity shifts from concern about how others see him or her to self-confidence. Growth continues from uncontrolled rage toward Whites to controlled, conscious anger. The internalized-committed individual is more controlled and the attitudes toward Whites are less hostile, or at least contained. Unlike the internalized individual, the person in the fifth stage of Nigrescence has a plan that he or she is committed to achieving (Cross, 1971). This overall process represents a move from psychological illness to psychological health. Thus, a complete nigrescence cycle involves movement through all five stages. However, there is the possibility that a person can recycle through the stages in the event of a new encounter. Depending on the nature of the encounter, one can recycle with only a mild refocus or complete recycle through encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization stages (Cross, 1991).

Cross's Model in Cross-racial Counseling Dyads

Identity development models are useful for explaining individual and group development, responses to situational or environmental stimuli, and individuals' participation in society. Identity development models have assisted researchers and practitioners in understanding the individuals with whom they work (Jones, 2002). Cross's (1971) work has influenced the development of many other cultural identity models for minority, ethnic, and racial groups. Cross's theory gained new popularity when a scale was developed to measure nigrescence (Vandiver, 2001).

Cross's stage theory was one of the first developed and most popular of racial identity development models (See Table 1). Cross's initial model (1971) suggested that the developing Black identity moves from a self-hating to a self-healing and culturally affirming self-concept (Marks, Settles, Cooke, Morgan, & Sellers, 2000). Originally, Cross believed that the self-esteem

of Blacks' changed as they progressed through the Nigrescence stages, but newer research contends that Blacks' self-esteem does not change. Instead the individual's worldview, ideology, and values change (Marks, et al., 2000). As a result of the research, Cross (1991) revised his model and defined the process as a transformation from a pre-existing identity (non-Afrocentric) to an Afrocentric identity.

Cross's Nigrescence model has served not only as the foundation for other racial identity models but also for the measurement and promotion of continued research of Black racial identity. Early research using Cross's model involved Q-sort methodologies, which grouped together single-paragraph phrases or stereotypic descriptions of Blacks based on the stages of Nigrescence. This method validated self-perceptions that are consistent with the stages of Nigrescence. Further research indicated that Blacks categorize other Blacks based upon the stages of Nigrescence and also described personal identity development as consistent with Cross's stages (Cross, 1976).

A key element of Cross's model (1971) is that it demonstrates the descriptive process by which racial identity develops. Cross was interested in the stages or points of development by which an individual progresses in his or her racial identity development. Parham and Helms (1981) developed the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, or RIAS, which operationalized Cross's original model of Nigrescence. In studying Black racial identity development, researchers have extensively used the RIAS to assess four of the stages of Nigrescence, pre-encounter, encounter, immersion-emersion, and internalization. Helms argued that the attitudes depicted in each stage may exist to varying degrees at each stage of racial identity development (Burlew & Smith, 1991). Therefore, the RIAS does not categorize individuals into stages but presents questions

Table 1

Cross' Nigresence Model of Black Racial Identity

Author	Date	Components	Description
William Cross, Jr.	1991	1. Pre-encounter 2. Encounter 3. Immersion/ Emersion 4. Internalization /Commitment	1. Individuals identify with the dominant white culture and reject their own culture. 2. Individuals reject previous identification with white culture seeking instead to identify with Black culture. 3. Individuals are completely engrossed in Black culture while completely rejecting White culture. 4. Individuals reach a level of self-concept where he or she is comfortable with his or her identity and are committed to transcending racism and in confronting all forms of cultural oppression.

related to each of the identity stages. The RIAS consists of 30 items: 8 pre-encounter items, 6 encounter items, 10 immersion-emersion items, and 6 internalization items. The RIAS can be

used to measure racial identity attitudes in relation to several other constructs. One such construct includes one's preference for a Black or White counselor (Parham & Helms, 1981).

Cross's theory (1971) has maintained much of its popularity owing in part to the development of the RIAS by Parham and Helms (1981). Additionally, the model is straightforward, easy to understand, and resonates for many minorities. In other words, it has face validity. Cross's (1991) intent was to demonstrate an individual's move toward the development of one of various Black or Afrocentric reference group orientations. The Nigrescence model has inspired the development of linear-stage models, prompting changes that increased scrutiny of their applicability. For example, it is no longer assumed that the process of Nigrescence serves as reparative for individuals damaged by racism in developing a self-accepting or self-affirming Black identity (Vandiver, 2001).

The Utility of Cross' Model in Counseling

Cross's Nigrescence model serves to assist White counselors in recognizing and understanding the perspective of the Black client, so movement of the therapy session is in sync with the Black client's identified self-concept. For example, the Black client who arrives in the pre-encounter identity hates Blacks and hates being Black (Vandiver, 2001). Cross (1991) described two aspects that influence the anti-Black identity, and they are miseducation and self-hatred. The Black client functioning at the pre-encounter stage in therapy with a White counselor may deify the counselor because of his or her belief that the White counselor is intellectually and spiritually superior. The counselor must ensure that the therapeutic environment is highly structured and supportive. The counselor should avoid confrontation and premature discussion of racial, ethnic, or cultural differences.

While Cross's Nigrescence model (1991) and other typology models have their merits in illustrating the process of Black identity development, more remains to be achieved. White

counselors and counselors in general must make use of Cross's model and other Black identity models that speak to the historical, social, economic, biological, and sociological issues of Blacks. Although Cross's model depicts well the identity development of Blacks, it is not a quick fix to interpreting the many factors that influence the Black identity development process. Cross initiated the process, but researchers must go beyond the Nigrescence model to more effectively and realistically understand how Blacks develop healthy identities within their cultural reference group orientation.

Similar to race, ethnic identity is often considered a social construct (Waters, 1990), and Cross's theory (1971) is also one of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is often misunderstood because its meaning is derived from both biological and social dimensions, though it is most often discussed as a social construction referring to a "sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group" (Helms, 1993, p. 3). Cross's model depicts a resocialization experience in which an individual progresses from a non-Afrocentric to an Afrocentric to a multicultural experience (Chavez & Guido-DiBrito, 1999). The result of this transformation is that the individual moves from a state of racial unawareness toward a commitment to many cultures and addressing the concerns of all oppressed groups. Cross's model is helpful in outlining racial identity development as a dynamic progression that is influenced by those in as well as those outside of a particular ethnic group. Moreover, much of Cross's model is grounded in the context of the civil rights movement. The model effectively demonstrates the commonalities within a particular ethnic group, such as learned rituals, behaviors, and communication and inclusive of each group's values, beliefs, and assumptions.

A strength of Cross's Nigrescence model is that each stage can be applied to the Black client-White counselor relationship. For example, the Black client experiencing the immersion-

emersion stage is likely to come from a pro-Black, anti-White perspective. Therefore, the White counselor should have the Black client explore the effects of his or her one-sided way of thinking and his or her feelings, particularly feelings of anger and resentment. The White counselor may also assist the Black client in exposing himself or herself to culturally sensitive individuals from other races so that these individuals serve as support resources. Then the counselor should move the client to a place of understanding, openness, and acceptance. The counselor who is aware of the developmental progression of racial identity as Cross describes is able to acknowledge and accommodate those characteristics that could affect the counseling process.

Cross (1991) reasoned that “to be human is by definition to be complex, and thus an accurate analysis of Black psychological functioning would be multidimensional” (p. 3). Undoubtedly the significance of Blackness in a White world has been a major concern in the social context of Blacks (Cross, 1991). Cross’s Nigrescence model suggests the qualitative differences in Black behavior over time by depicting specific behaviors and characteristics of racial identity with each progressive stage (Worrell et al., 2001), differences that can remain neglected in some stage models. Additionally, Cross’s model tends to create a platform from which the White counselor can make an educated guess regarding the Black client’s attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors. This process is particularly useful for the White counselor in understanding the client’s perspective, effectively diagnosing the client, and grasping a clear understanding of the client’s values and beliefs. The counselor needs to be aware of the stages of identity development, so that he or she can ascertain likely characteristics and maneuver through the sessions in ways that benefit the client.

Both the original and revised version of Cross’ Nigrescence models are effective in defining the stages in which Black individuals manifest their racial and ethnic identity. Cross’ original model (1978) consisted of five stages which Helms amended (1986) and the internalization stage

was combined with the commitment stage. Through these models, Cross provided a theoretical structure for understanding an individual's way of maneuvering through their own and other cultures. The Nigrescence model helps facilitate heightened confidence in Black individuals so they can resist negative messages and learn more about their racial heritage. In addition, the White counselor must be aware that Cross's model (1991) stresses self-healing and ideological unity in his original model. Empirical evidence suggests that little change in personality or self occurs during nigrescence, but, instead, Blacks become more divergent in their perspectives (Cross, 1995). Cross's model has proven useful as a psychohistorical construct, providing value in delineating Black adult behavior and providing guidance to scholars, researchers, and counselors.

Helms' White Racial Identity Model

Helms (1990) suggested that racial identity theories describe various modes of identification. White identity models explain "ways in which Whites can identify (or not identify) with other Whites and/or evolve or avoid evolving a non-oppressive White identity" (p. 5). White identity development is associated with the development and progression of racism. According to Sue and Sue (1999), healthy White identity development depends on movement through phases that require abandoning racism and then defining nonracist White identity. Each of Helms' statuses reflects complex behaviors, attitudes, and feelings that a person uses to deal with race-related matters. Helms' (1995) six ego statuses allow the individual who identifies as White to work through each of the statuses, ultimately becoming aware of racism and abandoning entitlement. Jones (1981) identified three types of racism: (a) individual, that is, personal beliefs and attitudes that are used to convince the individual that Whites are superior to other racial groups; (b) institutional, resulting in social policy, laws and regulations that promote advantages of Whites over other races; and (c) cultural, meaning that societal customs and beliefs that suggest that the

norms of Whites are superior to other races. These types of racism are significant because each type becomes part of the White individual's racial identity. Virtually every White person in the United States must overcome one or more of these types of racism. The White counselor must first accept his or her Whiteness, identify and understand the cultural implications of being White, and define a sense of self that does not rely on superiority over others (Helms, 1990).

Theorists speculate about the harmful consequences of racism on the perpetrators of racism, which includes the absence of a positive White racial identity. Various authors have discussed the defense mechanisms that Whites use to pretend they are not White in an effort to help develop a positive White identity (Helms, 1984, 1990; Katz & Ivey, 1977; Terry, 1981). When Whites are faced with the question of their racial identification, they tend to deny they are White (Katz & Ivey, 1977). Katz and Ivey observed that when Whites are asked the question of what he or she is racially, the responses may be Italian, English, Catholic, or Jewish. Terry (1981) commented, "to be White in America is not to have to think about it. Except for White supremacists, the meaning of being White is 'having the choice of attending to or ignoring one's own Whiteness'" (p. 120). According to Helms (1984), the White person's task specific to developing a healthy identity requires the abandonment of individual racism and the recognition and opposition of both institutional and cultural racism.

Helms' Stages of Identity Development

Helms' (1984) White racial identity model postulates six ego statuses or stages (See Table 2). The abandonment of racism begins in the contact stage. Once a person encounters the idea or actuality of Black people, the person has entered the contact stage. The characteristics of the White person in the contact stage are typically naiveté, timidity, and trepidation about Blacks.

Table 2

Helms' White Racial Identity Model

Author	Date	Components	Description
Janet Helms	1984	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Contact 2. Disintegration 3. Reintegration 4. Pseudo-Independence 5. Immersion-Emersion 6. Autonomy 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Obliviousness to own racial identity 2. First acknowledgment of White identity 3. Idealizes Whites, denigrates Blacks 4. Intellectualized acceptance of own and others' race 5. Honest appraisal of racism and significance of Whiteness 6. Internalizes a multi-cultural identity with non-racist Whiteness as its core

There is also a superficial and inconsistent awareness of being White. The benefits from institutional and cultural racism are automatic without the person being aware. However, when individual racism is initially exhibited it is often awkward, unsophisticated, and weak. Oddly, the person in the contact stage may enjoy being a racist because he or she has not had to deal with the moral dilemmas of racism (Helms, 1990).

The White counselor who is in the contact stage and has a Black client is likely not to change or alter his or her counseling techniques or styles as a result of race. The counselor is likely to make comments, such as “I don’t notice what race a person is” or “All people are the same.” As the contact person continues to have Black experiences, sooner or later the person has to acknowledge the differences in how Blacks and Whites are treated regardless of socioeconomic status.

When the White person has had enough experiences that penetrate the White person’s identity system, he or she can enter the disintegration stage (Helms, 1990). In this stage, the White person consciously acknowledges one’s Whiteness. However, the person is conflicted, triggering recognition of moral dilemmas associated with being White (Dennis, 1981). Accompanying these dilemmas is the realization that Blacks and Whites are not treated as equals and negative social stigmas (i.e., criticism from other Whites, isolation) can besiege the White person who does not respect the inequalities (Helms, 1990). The disintegration individual comes to recognize that his or her own position among other Whites can be jeopardized if he or she does not learn to split his or her personality when dealing with others. The emotional discomfort or incongruence manifests in certain feelings (Rogers, 1951), such as guilt, depression, helplessness, and anxiety, all of which are correlates of Whiteness (Karp, 1981).

Festinger (1957) theorized that dissonance is created when two or more of a person’s cognitions are in conflict. Whenever uncomfortable feelings result in White moral ambivalence, an individual usually attempts to reduce the dissonance by changing the behavior or an environmental belief or by developing new beliefs. Accordingly, the person in the disintegration stage will reduce the discomfort by (a) avoiding further contact with Blacks, (b) attempting to convince others that Blacks are not so inferior, or (c) seeking information from others to prove that racism is not the White person’s fault or does not exist. In an effort to continually reduce

dissonance, the person in the disintegration stage attends only to information that gives greater confidence and supports his or her new beliefs. Ultimately, the need to be accepted by one's own racial group, along with the beliefs of White superiority and Black inferiority, dictate the person's belief system and leads the person to change in a similar direction (Helms, 1990).

Conscious acknowledgement of a White identity characterizes movement into the reintegration stage. In the absence of contradictory experiences, White superiority and Black inferiority is the belief in America. The reintegration person accepts this belief. Institutional and cultural racism are believed to be the White person's reward because he or she has earned such privileges and preferences. Conformity to societal stereotypes of Black people is attended to or re-interpreted by the reintegration person, and the advantages bestowed upon Whites are accepted and enjoyed by the reintegration person. The reintegration person may express his or her feelings either actively or passively. Passive expression results in avoidance of environments in which Black people may be encountered. Active expression results in treating Blacks as inferior, carrying out acts of violence, or excluding Blacks. Such active expression is designed to protect White privilege (Helms, 1990). The more passive an individual, the more likely that fixation will occur at the reintegration stage (Helms, 1990).

What has to occur to move the person to the next stage, pseudo-independent or liberal, is a personally jarring event that forces the person to abandon his or her racist identity. The event can be direct or vicarious and can be caused by painful or insightful encounters with Black or White persons. These encounters trigger some Whites to question their racial identity, leading them to examine their definition of Whiteness and the justifiability of racism in any form, thus moving them into the pseudo-independent or liberal stage (Helms, 1990).

The pseudo-independent stage is not only Helm's fourth stage but also the first stage in redefining a positive White identity because the person begins to question the proposition that

Blacks are inferior to Whites. The pseudo-independent person acknowledges the responsibility of Whites for racism and how he or she perpetuates racism (Helms, 1990). Consequently, the person is no longer comfortable with a racist identity and begins to look for ways to redefine him or herself. Intellectualization is a two-fold process during this stage, in which the pseudo-independent person takes on the process of intellectual acceptance and curiosity about Blacks and attempts to submerge the tumultuous feelings through intellectualizing. The negative White identity no longer exists in this stage, but neither is there a positive one because the person does not have a visible standard against which to compare or modify him or herself. Additionally, this type of person is likely to be met by suspicion from other Whites and from Blacks.

The pseudo-independent person feels a rather marginal existence where race and racial issues are concerned. Other Whites will treat the pseudo-independent person as if he or she has violated racial norms, and Blacks will treat the person with suspicion. The over identification with Blacks and the person's White identity leads to discomfort. As the pseudo-independent person receives personal rewards (e.g., self-esteem, monetary compensation, etc.), and if they are great enough, a positive White identity is likely strengthened. This continued strengthening of a positive White identity allows the person to begin a quest for the positive facets of Whiteness that are unrelated to racism. As the quest continues for a better definition of Whiteness, the person enters into the immersion-emersion stage (Helms, 1990).

Helms' fifth stage, immersion-emersion, requires replacing myths and stereotypes of Blacks with factual information. Often the person in this stage is seeking answers about self and may immerse him or herself in biographies pertaining to White individuals who have gone through the White identity process (Helms, 1990). Additionally, the immersion-emersion person searches primarily for the meaning of racism and recognizes that he or she benefits from being White (Vinson & Neimeyer, 2003). This stage is different from the pseudo-independent stage, as the

person in that stage devotes much of his or her attention to helping Blacks. The immersion-emersion person no longer focuses on changing Blacks, but rather on changing Whites. As a result of both emotional and cognitive changes, the person re-experiences emotions that were previously denied or distorted. Expression of these feelings allows the person to feel euphoric, akin to a religious rebirth. As these feelings become more positive, they fuel the person, enabling them to tackle racism and oppression (Helms, 1990).

All the internalizing, nurturing, and re-defining of Whiteness involved in the earlier stages are significant goals of Helms' sixth stage, autonomy. The autonomous person no longer finds it necessary to oppress or denigrate people based on racial membership, as race is no longer a threat. Cultural and institutional racism are abandoned because the person no longer reacts to worldviews. Interestingly, the autonomous person seeks to learn from other cultural and racial groups but also becomes actively aware of other forms of oppression (e.g., sexism, ageism, etc.) and attempts to eliminate them as well (Helms, 1990). Although autonomy represents the highest level of White racial identity, the process is an ongoing one in which the person continues to be open to new information and different ways of thinking about cultural and racial variables. However, reaching the autonomy stage does not change all aspects of the person's identity. For example, if the person had a grouchy disposition before the racial identity development process, then the grouchy disposition will remain evident after the process is complete. The distinct difference now is that the person's grouchiness will not be governed by racial determinants. A multitude of personalities exist among persons who reach this stage. Thus, the person's worldview of racism changes, not personal identity (Helms, 1990).

The different stages of Helms' model affect attitudes, behaviors, and emotions, but it is likely that these attitudes, behaviors, and emotions do not develop at the same rate. There is support to suggest that attitudes may change faster than do behaviors. This observation explains in part why

discomfort occurs for persons whose attitudes, emotions, and behaviors are not in sync (McConaghy & Hough, 1976). Even Helms' definition of statuses speaks to the cognitive and emotional processes of identity development. Helms (1995) defined statuses as the "dynamic cognitive, emotional, and behavioral processes that govern a person's interpretation of racial information in his or her personal environments" (p. 184). According to Helms (1995), Whites vary in their understanding of race for themselves and for people of color. Furthermore, Whites are motivated by acceptance or rejection of prevalent racist ideologies and their dependence on socially acquired racial stereotypes in processing information (Gushue & Carter, 2000).

Helms' White racial identity model was one of the first White racial identity models to be developed. The model presupposes the existence of White superiority and individual, cultural, and institutional racism. A strength of Helms' model is that statuses are used instead of stages. Stages tend to be a limiting concept primarily because people can be in more than one stage at a time. Helms' first three statuses detail how a White person progresses away from a racist frame of reference before moving to the next three statuses where the person discovers a nonracist frame (Helms, 1995).

All identity models focus on the psychosocial process of defining the self, but what is unique about Helms' model is that she considers the cognitive and emotional complexities of the self-defining process. Helms' model is also helpful in outlining racial experiences as triggers to promote or at least initiate development of one's racial identity. The White person in development appears to have two types of racial perceptions: others and self. This process is an intersection between racism and racial development. Problematic in this model is Helms' identification of how White racial identity occurs. That is, what a White person experiences in the way of racial identity is based primarily on the person's perceptions, feelings, and behaviors

as catalysts for change rather than the development and consciousness of an actual White racial identity. The person simply moves from racist to nonracist without any real self-actualization.

Helms' model prompted the development of the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) to assess attitudes related to Helms' five statuses of her model. The premise of Helms' scale is that attitudes about Whiteness and Blackness trigger the person's racial identity development. The WRIAS measures attitudes hypothesized to come from each of the statuses. In multiple studies, Helms' reported reliabilities in the .90s. Although the scale is a relatively new measure, it does have content, construct, and criterion validity. The WRIAS contains items identified by others as being significant components of White racial identity development. For the WRIAS, construct validity concerns the adequacy of the instrument in measuring the construct of White racial identity. The correlations (.67, .75, .82, .77, and .74) of the WRIAS suggest they are consistent with Helms' statuses. In assessing the criterion validity of the WRIAS, each scale correlates with measures of other personality constructs. For example, higher contact attitudes have been associated with lower anxiety.

Helms' scale is rational and seems to measure what it is intended to measure. The 10-item scale measures each of the five subscales. For the 50-attitudinal statements, a 5-point Likert scale is used (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) to describe the individual. The scores are summed and divided by 10 for each subscale. The higher the score, the more the respondent is characteristic of that subscale. What is supportive of Helms' scale and theory is that it has been tested time and time again. A study by Neville, Heppner, Louie, Thompson, Brook, and Baker (1996) reported Cronbach's alphas of .44, .72, .73, .51 and .54, respectively. Similarly, Burkard, Ponterotto, Reynolds, and Alfonso (1999) added to the validity of the WRIAS subscales (Contact = .15, Disintegration = .81, Reintegration = .82, Pseudo-Independence = .73, and Autonomy = .71). Carter, (1984) reported alphas for all the WRIAS subscales in the .90s.

The Utility of Helms' Model for White Counselors

Helms' work proves useful in assessing the influence of race within the cross-racial dyads of counseling involving the White counselor who has a Black client. The counselor must be aware of his or her values, biases, and race and racial issues. Helms' model is useful for the White counselor because the majority of counselors are White, making it likely that a White counselor will work with minority clients who have experienced racism or discrimination. The White counselor needs to go through the stages of identity development to give him or her awareness of being and what that implies in relation to others who do not share White racial membership. Helms' model is unique in helping understand the influence of race within the cross-racial counseling relationship. For the White counselor who has moved from one status to another, the model ignites the counselor's consciousness of racial issues and people of other races. The counselor's attitudes change as a result of dissonance created through experiences with persons of different races. When working with a Black client, the counselor must have more advanced cultural self-awareness than the client in order to be effective. The counselor should be able to understand and expect the attitudinal and emotional reactions that the client may bring to counseling because the counselor's awareness will enable him or her to know what questions to ask and what interventions are appropriate. The counselor's level of racial identity affects the client. As reported by Helms (1984), racial identity can either help or stall the client. For example, a counselor who functions predominantly from a contact status may react to a Black client experiencing racism or discrimination by denying the reality of the racism. This reaction can fuel hostility or resentment or cause the client to disengage. However, if the counselor operates from an immersion-emersion or autonomous status, he or she is in the process of defining himself or herself as nonracist. A Black client who may be describing a racist event to the counselor in the immersion-emersion status is likely to receive empathic understanding from

the counselor based on the client's experiences and the status of the counselor. Additionally, the counselor will be aware of the client's anger and will attend to it so that it does not interfere with the counseling process.

Helms' model is useful in that a White counselor who is aware of diversity is better prepared to work with clients from different racial backgrounds. Knowledge about racial identity is the initial step in a complex process. Counselors who have examined themselves based on Helms' model are better able to apply that knowledge to discriminatory situations in assessing, conceptualizing, and treating their clients. The model is also useful in demonstrating how crucial it is for the counselor to be aware of his or her own racial identity and in understanding how racial identity interacts with the client's experiences.

White Racism

The topic of racism is one of the most emotionally charged subjects of our time. Counselors must come to understand racism as an intellectual concept and as a profound human experience (Locke & Kiselica, 1999). Racism hurts not only people of color but also Whites. Therefore, counselors must be aware of the perspectives of both minorities and Whites on how racism affects all individuals. White counselors must be willing to address the problem of racism and how this pervasive psychosocial problem continues to affect all individuals. Counselors need to think about racism on a personal level and consider how the racial images and messages that Blacks receive from childhood to adulthood influence their behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs about people who are racially different (D'Andrea, 1999).

The problems of racism, both in its institutional and cultural forms, negatively affect all people. Unfortunately, some White people resist open and frank discussions about the ways in which their own life experiences foster racist thoughts, feelings, and attitudes (D'Andrea, 1999). Despite the personal discomfort of self-reflection and the issues associated with racism, self-

reflection is an important process for White individuals to take on for two reasons. First, many multicultural theorists have noted that Whites should consider some of their own prejudices and distorted thinking resulting from instances in which they received negative racial images and messages during their lifetime regarding minorities (D'Andrea, 1999). Second, by reflecting on past racist experiences, empathy may result toward people who are victims of racism and White individuals may learn how they unintentionally support and perpetuate racism (Locke, 1992). As the White individual continues to reflect, understanding the complex nature of racism and how racism affects Blacks becomes more apparent on a personal level. The significance of the racial images and messages for White individuals is that they often confirm their own feelings and thoughts about Blacks. In addition, the images and messages implicitly help to confirm the superiority and value of the White race. More often than not this sense of White superiority is not always conscious (D'Andrea, 1999). However, the conscious aspects of racism tend to fuel those more overt, intentional manifestations of racism (Locke, 1992).

Wellman (1993) defined racism as “a system of exclusion and privilege, and a set of culturally acceptable linguistic or ideological constructions that define one’s location in that system” (p. 25). This definition of racism is appropriate because it focuses on power and privilege in a systems context. The varying levels of racism support the notion that race has been a primary vehicle for conceptualizing and organizing around group differences (Outlaw, 1990). Therefore, it is appropriate and necessary to consider race and racism in multicultural counseling courses.

When Whites focus attention away from racism and themselves race relations suffer. Whites often point out that success comes from adhering to the dominant cultural values and that minorities resist doing so. Williams (1970) described the arguments of Whites as focusing on a central theme, that if people of color operated by the rules then they too would be able to earn a portion of the rewards through merit and respect. To support these arguments, examples of

successful minorities are offered, such as Colin Powell or Arthur Ashe. Even with these examples, a reporter interviewing Mr. Ashe questioned him regarding the heaviest burden he ever faced. The reporter expecting Mr. Ashe's response to be AIDS was surprised by Mr. Ashe's response that "being Black" was his heaviest burden (D'Andrea, 1999, p. 40).

A concept that White individuals often overlook is that of White privilege. Hays and Chang (2003) defined White privilege as:

the belief that only one's own standards and opinions are accurate, to the exclusion of all other standards and opinions, and these standards and opinions are defined and supported by Whites in a way to continually reinforce social distance between groups, thereby allowing Whites to dominate, control access to, and escape challenges from racial and ethnic minorities. (p. 135)

A premise of White privilege is that resources are allocated as a result of White superiority and that minorities are responsible for their own social and economic problems (Hays & Chang, 2003). Similarly, McIntosh (1998) defines White privilege or conferred dominance as unearned rewards that White people receive based on skin color alone. The insidious, complex network of relationships in which privilege operates is also highly consequential for the recipients (Helms, 1995). For example, Whites who become aware of their privilege typically experience feelings of guilt, shame, and sadness (Neville, Spanierman, & Doan, 2006).

Whites generally view their beliefs and behaviors as normative and often fail to acknowledge their Whiteness as a racial identity (Lucal, 1996). The tendency is to sustain their White privilege status by citing the inferiority of other racial groups in government policies, academic assertions, and public opinion (Vera, Feagin, & Gordon, 1996). White privilege is often an invisible, overlooked phenomenon that Whites experience but do not recognize. That White privilege is seemingly oblivious to most Whites limits racial interactions (Lucal, 1996). It guides assumed

appropriate ways for living in society and gives Whites entitlement to take the initiative in discussing or refusing to discuss racism (Frye, 1983). Furthermore, faulty assumptions that Whites use to defend privilege pose obstacles to addressing White privilege and include beliefs that the White experience is desirable and universal, power affects everyone the same, and those with less power can be honest with Whites without penalty (Vadde, 2001).

White privilege as a construct is often disregarded in literature in which race or oppression is the topic. However, it is necessary to understand that race, racism, and oppression intertwine with White privilege. Counselors must recognize the influence that each of these constructs has on the counseling relationship and on their client's personal development (Hays & Chang, 2003). Some counselors deny or dismiss the concept of White privilege because of shame or even guilt. White counselors who continue to deny the effects of White privilege or even its existence will hinder relevant discussions and have a poor understanding of other races (Rose, 1996).

Most racial identity models speak to racial differences as the result of oppression and domination (Cameron & Wycoff, 1998). Racial identity tends to assist the individual in interpreting and understanding the meaning of a racial event and creating social relationships (Helms, 1995). These social groups affect the individual's worldview, and society serves in shaping racial identity and the ideas of inferiority and superiority (Pack-Brown, 1999). Important to recognize is that racial identity is not a compartmentalized process for those who have multiple privileged and oppressed statuses as a result of complex cultural identities (Watt, 1999).

Racial identity models do not specifically address White privilege. Instead, they address the notion of Whites struggling to defend against societal myths and practices (Ancis & Szymanski, 2001). In the case of Helms' White racial identity model, Whites attempt to abandon their entitlement to societal resources and privileges as they progress in their understanding of their racial identity. What impedes this progress is a component of guilt (Helms, 1995). There is a

difference in some White racial identity models in that the models tend to address the cognitive processes of moving from a racist to a positive nonracist identity. Individuals move from a state of obliviousness to a state of understanding, thereby relinquishing privileges and racism (Helms, 1995) and greatly influencing the racial identities of both the counselor and client within the counseling relationship as well as the outcome of that relationship (Pack-Brown, 1999).

Multicultural training can help the White counselor progress in his or her racial identity development. Thus, less racism and higher interracial comfort are related to more advanced racial identity (Pope-Davis & Ottavi, 1994). Counselors are often motivated by the views and prejudices that speak to lower racial identity statuses and, in the same manner, institutional racism is perpetuated through practices and policies (Jones & Carter, 1996). However, only a few researchers have studied White racial identity attitudes in relationship to racism and prejudice (Constantine, 2002). There is a need to explore racism to build a foundation for examining the counselor's personal beliefs, values, and attitudes about both race and racism. Through these considerations, the White counselor sets in motion the importance of his or her role in acknowledging rather than minimizing the realities of racism. The White counselor must be aware that racism is salient to not only people of color but also Whites. Counselors must be ready to eradicate racism in order to initiate social change (Brahaybetter, 1999).

The Relationship Between White Racial Identity Development and White Racism

Research on White racial attitudes has found that overt expressions of White racism have been declining over the past three decades (Duckitt, 1992). This decline, however, is not the result of racist attitudes disappearing, but rather racism taking on a subtler, more covert form (Jones, 1997). Whites can no longer be considered simply racist or not racist because there are varying forms of racial attitudes for White Americans, (Carter, Helms, & Juby, 2004).

There are three models of Whiteness that propose various types or subtypes of racists (Duckitt, 1992). The first model, familiar to many, is the actively racist White supremacist. The second and third models, known as the “what Whiteness?” view and the “guilty White” view, respectively. One characterizes a failure to acknowledge one’s racial category and the other a heightened sense of racism with shame and guilt (Tatum, 1994). What is unique about these various types of racists is that each is defined by Whites’ socioracial prejudices usually against Blacks. However, Whites are not assumed to be equivalently racist. Although many relevant racism theories suggest that White racism subtypes develop from internalized racial socialization, that is, how Whites respond to others rather than the nature of the internalized socialization. For example, White racial identity development, a large body of research addresses the relationship between racial identity schemas and other cultural variables (Carter et al., 2004). For example, White racial identity schemas are differentially related to counselor preference, cultural values, process, and outcome in counseling dyads, multicultural training, self-reported multicultural counseling competencies, and personality traits (Carter & Helms, 1990).

Racial identity research has furthered the understanding of the relationship between White racial identity and other psychological constructs. What remains unclear is how racial identity statuses operate together as variables linked to racism. Current research provides only a partial picture of racial identity theory, which describes the identity development of individuals within samples rather than Whites as a group (Helms, 1990). Thus, subgroups of individuals within samples may experience similar racial socialization situations, which may contribute to similar racial identity manifestations (Carter & Helms, 1990).

White racial theory posits that racial attitudes toward self for individuals who identify as White develop relative to their attitudes toward Blacks (Helms, 1990). According to Helms (1997b), for White counselors to develop a nonracist White identity, they must accept their

Whiteness and acknowledge how they perpetuate and benefit from racism. However, given the emotionally charged nature of race in this society, many White counselors may be uncomfortable with anything beyond a superficial discussion of race issues that become salient in the counseling relationship (Utsey & Gernat, 2002). Beyond racial identity is the awareness that counselors must have regarding their feelings toward race-related material. Anxiety in counselors can be an emotion that tends to serve as an obstacle within their professional roles (Ridley, 1995).

Clinical experience and research have uncovered the use of defense mechanisms by White counselors in cross-racial counseling relationships. For White counselors, defense mechanisms include colorblindness, color unconsciousness, cultural transference, counter-transference, cultural ambivalence, and pseudotransference. All these defenses describe a lack of consideration of color, overemphasis on skin color, the inexperience with clients of color, and the preoccupation of the counselor with his or her own racial issues, respectively (Utsey & Gernat, 2002). Constant in the research is that little attention is given to how Whites feel about themselves. Instead, the focus is on how Whites feel about Blacks or other people of color (Leach, Behrens, & LaFleur, 2002). Kowe, Bennett, and Atkinson (1994) expressed concerns about Helms' White Racial Identity Development model because it focuses exclusively on Whites' relationship towards Blacks. White identity statuses tend to describe varying sensitivity to other racial and ethnic groups but focus little on White identity (Leach et al., 2002). As currently conceptualized, White racial identity does not seem to emphasize an individual's connectedness to the White racial group. Because the importance of White racial outlook is more recognized these days, it is understandable that applications of White racial identity have begun to appear (Leach et al., 2002). White racial identity development as it is understood today can still be useful to practicing counselors as an organized model that allows them to communicate about racial content in a mutually meaningful manner. Because racial identity development and

racist attitudes may influence the counseling relationship a correlational research design was chosen for the present study in order to consider the influence of counselor attitudes within the counseling dyad.

Race as a Social Construct: Critical Race Theory Perspective

When considering race as a social construct, the tenets of the Critical Race Theory (CRT) include acknowledging racism and recognizing the impact of oppression and social injustices of Blacks. Additionally, CRT dissects socially constructed dominant culture knowledge with a focus towards social justice. CRT within the therapeutic dyad attunes counselors to the socially constructed Euro-centered practices that are problematic for other races and ethnicities (McDowell, 2004).

Additionally, CRT examines how sociotemporal notions are relative to race, oppression and inequality in society. Its origin is framed around the U. S. Constitution and the tension surrounding enslaved Africans in this country (Duncan, 2005). The view was that Blacks were property rather than persons possessing the same civil liberties granted to Whites by the U. S. Constitution. As a result, property rights included skin color, which extended into an unequal distribution of economic, social and political resources that promoted privilege for Whites and oppression for Blacks (Duncan, 2005).

Race and its intersections continue to shape the experiences of people of color (Bell, 1986). However, until recently it was an under-theorized subject (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005). In an effort to address the theoretical void regarding racism, a framework was developed by legal scholars to examine the role of race and racism particularly within education. CRT detailed how race and property rights intersected and how each could offer understanding to the inequities within the school systems (Ladson, Billings, & Tate, 1995). Analysis of this theory was based further on the work of Cheryl Harris, a legal scholar, in which Harris' construct of "whiteness as

property” was employed (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005). Property is recognized by many theorists to be a right rather than a physical, tangible object. Harris proposed that the major characteristic of Whiteness as property was “the legal legitimation of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo as a neutral baseline, while masking the maintenance of White privilege and domination” (Harris, 1993, p. 1715). The emergence of CRT was the result of the need to give vocabulary to the structures of race-related oppression (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005). The framework of CRT is used to theorize, examine and challenge the implicit and explicit impact on social practices and structures (Yosso, 2005). Matsuda, et al. (1993) identified six themes within the framework of CRT that identified the movement of this theory:

1. CRT recognizes that racism is endemic in the United States.
2. CRT expresses skepticism towards claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness and meritocracy.
3. CRT insists on a contextual, historical analysis of the law. Additionally, CRT presumes that racism has contributed to the manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage.
4. CRT recognizes the experiential knowledge of people of color in analyzing law and society.
5. CRT is interdisciplinary.
6. CRT aims to eliminate racial oppression as a part of the larger goal of ending all forms of oppression (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005, p. 6).

CRT critiques imposed stances (or points of view) in lieu of favored stances in support of social justice (Merriam, 1998). CRT does not provide counselors with the specific methods or procedures to effectively work with clients of diverse ethnic or racial backgrounds, but forces counselors to be aware of covert and overt racist practices. It is through the use of knowledge that

the challenge of segregation and the development of diverse curriculum that support the non-assimilation and in-depth analysis of racism that effects on individual and systemic levels (Salomon, 1998). Moreover, CRT calls for education to challenge social injustice and work toward racial equity (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993). Racial awareness of counselors from the perspective of CRT is necessary from a societal and personal level in order to competently engage clients of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Overview

While some academic programs are addressing the issues of multicultural competence it necessary to continue to validate Helms' (1995) theoretical positions that cognitive, affective and behavioral domains exist within White racial identity statuses (Silvestri & Richardson, 2001). Therefore, the intent of this study was to add to the understanding of what counselors bring to the clinical relationship with diverse clients. Thus, this study examined three research questions:

1. What does the racial profile of a White counselor look like?
2. What is the relationship between racist attitudes and White racial identity development in White professional counselors?
3. How important is race to White counselors when working with Black clients?

Participants

A convenience sample of White, practicing counselors was obtained via a mixed-mode method of paper-and-pencil survey through the U. S. mail and a web-based method by electronic mail. The participants for the online survey were obtained through college listservs throughout the United States. The focus being graduate counseling, psychology and social work programs. The addresses of participants who received the packets via U. S. mail were obtained through area business telephone directories. The primary variables of interest were the racial identity development and racist attitudes of White, licensed, practicing counselors. A total of 125 survey packets were mailed; 38 (30%) were returned. Of the total questionnaires returned, 27 were completed by counselors who self-identified as White. The primary interest was to assess racial identity development and racist attitudes in White counselors; however counselors of color also received the packets. Thus, the People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (POCRIAS) was

included in the packet for completion by counselors who self-identified as Black or persons of color. Hence, participants were asked to complete the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) if they self-identified as White and the POCRAIS if they self-identified as Black or a person of color. Eleven counselors of color completed the POCRIAS, but the data were not included in this study. In an effort to increase response rate, SurveyMonkey.com, an online software engine that disseminates electronic surveys via email and/or links, was used to increase the number of participants. This method increased total participants to 62. Of the 62 participants, 61 self-identified as White and 1 participant self-identified as East Indian. The participant identifying as East Indian was included in the sample because the WRIAS was completed rather than the POCRIAS. Two participants were eliminated from the study due to missing data ($N = 60$). Informed consent documents are located in Appendices A and B.

Table 3 reports the demographics of the participants: 46 (77.4%) females, and 14 (22.5%) males ranged in age from 25 to 59 ($M = 39.12$). There was one participant who did not identify gender. There were 47 (75.8%) participants who held master's degrees, 12 (19.3%) held doctorates and 3 (.05%) did not disclose their educational level. (Note: The percentages may not equal 100 due to missing data). The reported years of practice ranged from 0 to 33 years with a mean of 9.5 years. Participants reported taking at least one multicultural counseling course (33.8%) or had received multicultural training through workshops (50%). The participants were also categorized into groups (See Table 4) based on their years in clinical practice: the Novice Group (0 – 4 years) comprised 33% ($n = 20$) of the participants; the Experienced Group (5 – 10 years) comprised 30% ($n = 18$) and the Seasoned Group (11+ years), 36% ($n = 20$). There were 2 participants who did not report their years of experience.

Table 3

Counselor Demographics

Variable	<i>N</i>	%
Gender (<i>N</i> = 60)		
Female	46	76.66%
Male	14	23.33%
Unreported	1	.01%
Education (<i>N</i> = 59)		
Master's degree	47	75.83%
Doctorate	12	19.33%
Unreported	3	.05%
Age (<i>N</i> = 60)		
25 – 34	16	25.80%
35 – 44	26	41.93%
45 – 54	12	19.35%
55 – 64	6	9.67%
Unreported	2	3.22%
Years in Practice (<i>N</i> = 58)		
Novice	20	33.33%
Experienced	18	29.03%
Seasoned	20	32.25%
Unreported	2	3.22%

Table 4

Group Categorizations Based on Years in Practice

Group	<i>N</i>	<i>Number of Years in Practice</i>
Novice	20	0 – 4
Experienced	18	5 – 10
Seasoned	20	11 +

Instrumentation***Demographic Questionnaire***

The researcher developed a demographic questionnaire to collect the following information: age, sex, race/ethnicity, highest degree earned, type of licensure (e.g., LPC, LCSW, or psychological associate), number of years of counseling experience, detail of courses and continuing education training related to multicultural or cross-cultural counseling issues, and the percentage of time spent counseling. The years of experience were categorized into the following groups: novice (0-4), experienced (5-10), and seasoned (11+). A copy of the questionnaire is found in Appendix C.

New Racism Scale (NRS)

The NRS (Jacobson, 1985), a 7-item self-report that measures the attitudes of White individuals toward Black individuals, is a modified version of the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1982). The seven multiple-choice items have two to four response choices, and the total score is based on the summed choice items. The NRS development study obtained a Cronbach's alpha of .70. Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994) and Utsey, McCarthy, Eubanks, and

Adrian (2002) reported Cronbach's alphas of .60 and .70, respectively. In the present sample for the NRS, Cronbach's alpha of .52 yielded similar results as Pope-Davis and Ottavi (1994). The score range of the NRS is from 7 to 25, with higher scores suggesting an endorsement of racist attitudes. A mean of 12 was computed for the NRS in this study. A copy of the NRS is located in Appendix D.

White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS)

The WRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1990) is a 50-item, 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) that assesses White racial identity attitudes as proposed by Helms (1984). The WRIAS consists of six 10-item subscales, with subscale scores ranging from 10 to 50. Scores will be obtained by adding the point values for each scale.

High scores on the subscale represent high use of the racial identity schema by the relevant scale. The WRIAS measures the attitudes in Helms' theory of White racial identity and the six statuses (contact, disintegration, reintegration, pseudo-independence, immersion/emersion and autonomy). The contact subscale measures Whites' lack of awareness of their own racial group membership and the minimization of racial issues (Constantine, 2002). The disintegration subscale measures Whites' emerging awareness of their own racial group membership and the ambivalence about being White because they treated differently (better) than others as a result of race. The reintegration subscale assesses Whites' idealization of their racial group along with acceptance of the personal implications of being White. The pseudo-independence subscale measures Whites' intellectual acknowledgement of racism and the ways in which they have perpetuated racism. The immersion/emersion subscale measures Whites' appraisal of racism and the significance of their Whiteness. Finally, the autonomy subscale assesses Whites' internalization of a positive racial identity through intellectual and emotional appreciation of racial similarities and differences. In prior studies, coefficient alphas for the subscales of the

WRIAS have ranged from .55 to .80 (Helms & Carter, 1990). In this investigation, Cronbach's alphas for the WRIAS subscales were .36 (Contact), .42 (Disintegration), .62 (Reintegration), .44 (Pseudo-Independence), .48 (Immersion/Emersion), and .47 (Autonomy). The Cronbach's alpha for the total score of the WRIAS for this study was .46. Similarly, previous studies have reported suboptimal coefficient alphas for some WRIAS subscales as well (Ladany, Brittan-Powell, & Pannu, 1987; Ladany, Inman, Constantine, & Hofheinz, 1997). In terms of reliability for this study, the reported moderately low coefficients may be the result of homogeneity effects due to the sample having similarly reported large amounts of interracial contact and there were similar reactions from the participants. Helms (1997) describes the homogeneity principle as having the ability to decrease the reliability and validity of an entire instrument. A copy of the WRIAS is located in Appendix E.

People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (POCRIAS)

The People of Color Racial Identity Attitude Scale (Helms, 1997a) is a 50-item, 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) designed to measure people's social and political attitudes as it relates to race. The POCRIAS specifically assesses five strategies often shared by people of color to process information. Helms's (1995) strategies in devising this scale were derived from the racial identity models of Cross (1971) and Atkinson, Morten, and Sue (1989). The four subscales are based on Helms's people of color racial identity attitude theory (Bryant & Baker, 2003). The POCRIAS was developed to assess all people of color within the United States. Helms's four stages are conformity/pre-encounter, dissonance, immersion/resistance, and internalization, and these comprise the four subscales of Helms's POCRIAS. The instrument's aim is to place people in the stage of identity development in which they identify.

Participants were asked to respond to each of the items. Relative to the four subscales, each participant's score indicates a stronger or weaker assessment of the specific identity score. High scores on the scales indicate stronger levels of the relevant racial identity subscale. Scores range from 10 to 50 on the conformity/pre-encounter subscale, 15 to 75 on the dissonance subscale, 13 to 65 on the immersion/resistance subscale, and 10 to 50 on the internalization subscale (Bryant & Baker, 2003). The instrument tends to have both reliability and validity based on the computations of Helms and Carter (1990), ranging from .74 to .82 and .72 to .82, respectively. Therefore, Helms's POCRIAS is reliable and valid and is applicable to different minority groups (Bryant & Baker, 2003). Data from the POCRIAS were not analyzed. A copy of the POCRIAS is in Appendix F.

Race Salience Questions

The researcher developed four questions to further assess the relevance of race for White counselors within cross-racial counseling dyads. The questions were included in each of the survey packets. The four questions were: (a) What are your initial thoughts when counseling a Black client? (b) What problems tend to exist within cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor? (c) What factors influence early termination or stall rapport-building in cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor? and (d) What evidence do you have as a counselor that you are multiculturally competent? The Questionnaire's themes took into account the components that make a counselor multiculturally competent in the area of A copy of the Race Salience Questionnaire is in Appendix G.

Procedure

Data Collection

The survey packets consisted of (a) the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS) (Helms & Carter, 1990), (b) the New Racism Scale (NRS) (Jacobson, 1985), (c) the People of Color

Racial Attitude Identity Scale (POCRIAS) (Helms, 1997a), (d) a brief demographic questionnaire, and (e) a Race Salience Questionnaire proposed by the researcher. The invitation to participate in the study specified that only practicing clinicians complete the scales. In order to ensure that the participants were practicing clinicians, a question was added to the demographic questionnaire asking the percentage of time that counselors spend daily in counseling. The researcher was interested in assessing the levels of racial identity development and race-related attitudes of White counselors, although some counselors of color may have received the packets as well. Thus, the POCRIAS (Helms & Carter, 1997) was included in the packets for counselors of color. Therefore, participants were asked to complete the WRIAS if they self-identified as White or the POCRIAS if they self-identified as a person of color. The data for the POCRIAS were excluded in this study. The process of including the POCRIAS for Black or counselors of color was necessary because the researcher did not have a method of differentiating between Black or White counselors prior to data collection. As an incentive for participants to complete and return the survey packets, participants received a separate form to enter their names into a raffle for three possible chances to win a monetary prize (\$25.00, \$15.00 and \$10.00). A neutral party immediately separated the completed scales and entry forms to prevent the researcher from matching the completed scales with the raffle entry forms to maintain anonymity. After all the data were collected, three winners were drawn from the returned entries and the monetary prizes were forwarded to each winner via U.S. mail. Return of the completed scales by the participants served as consent. A copy of the raffle entry form is in Appendix H.

Data Analysis

To determine a profile for White counselors in the sample, the raw data for racial identity and endorsed racial attitudes were collected and the means and standard deviations computed (See Table 5). To determine the relationship between racist attitudes and racial identity development,

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of the WRIAS and NRS

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range
Contact	29.12	3.44	20 – 38
Disintegration	20.35	3.06	14 – 27
Reintegration	16.88	3.52	11 – 28
Pseudo-Independence	32.50	3.24	23 – 39
Immersion/Emersion	32.84	4.96	22 – 44
Autonomy	35.01	3.71	26 – 42
NRS	11.51	1.75	8 – 18

Note. WRIAS = White Racial Identity Attitude Scale; NRS = New Racism Scale.

an interscale correlation analysis was performed using the WRIAS and NRS scores (See Table 6). To seek information about how important race is to White counselors when working with Black clients, responses to the Race Salience questions (See Table 7) were analyzed thematically (Heppner, Kivlighan, Jr., & Wampold, 1999). The researcher independently identified four primary thematic categories based on the four questions of the Race Salience Questionnaire. The following categories were identified, representing each question chronologically: (1) Awareness, (2) Resistance, (3) Process, and (4) Knowledge. The researcher trained two auditors (i.e., a White female, licensed social worker with a doctorate in social work and a Black female, licensed doctorate level psychologist) to identify and highlight repeating words or phrases by each participant for each question. The researcher and two auditors individually reviewed each response by (a) highlighting repetitive race-related thoughts of the participants (Awareness), (b) highlighting repetitive race-related factors in termination or rapport building (Process), and

Table 6

Interscale Correlation Coefficients of the WRIAS Subscale Totals and NRS

Variable	Co	Di	Re	PI	IE	Au	NRS
Contact (Co)	—	*.43	.05	.35	.15	.29	-.26
Disintegration (Di)	*.43	—	.35	.08	.19	-.01	-.10
Reintegration	.05	.35	—	-.20	-.20	.15	.24
Pseudo-Independence (PI)	.35	.08	-.20	—	.34	.38	-.20
Immersion/Emersion	.15	.19	-.22	.34	—	.28	-.06
Autonomy	.29	-.01	-.15	.38	.28	—	-.38
NRS	-.26	.10	.24	-.20	-.06	-.38	—

Note. WRIAS = White Racial Identity Attitude Scale; NRS = New Racism Scale.

N = 60, .43 < .01

* Statistically significant

(d) highlighting repetitive multicultural competence evidence (Knowledge). Inter-rater agreement was high (85%). That is initially, of the 240 responses (4 questions per participant) from the Race Salience Questionnaire, 36 of the responses were discussed by the auditors and resolution reached by consensus. The primary disagreement resulted in whether to include specific evidence of multicultural competence (i.e., number of courses, specific courses/trainings) or general responses. It was decided that general responses would be considered because not all participants included a number of courses completed or detailed their multicultural courses or trainings.

A presentation and implications of the findings is in the chapters that follow. It was the researcher's intent to carefully analyze each aspect of the data to ensure a useful study.

Conclusions were drawn and implications made based on the results to provide information that is practical and useful for the counseling profession and generalizable to other minority populations within counseling dyads.

Table 7

Race Salience Themes

Theme	Related Question	Counselor Response
Awareness	What are your initial thoughts when counseling a Black client?	Race is not an issue Am I culturally competent No initial thoughts Be aware of personal biases Need to address race to help client Resistance
Resistance	What problems tend to exist within cross-racial counseling for you as a counselor?	Cultural sensitivity [Counselor] Ignorant of cultural relationships Have to be guarded because of fear of being culturally defensive Black cultural practices in opposition to academic training Don't know
Process	What factors influence early termination or stall rapport-building in cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor?	[Perception] client does not trust me Socio-economic status is more of an issue than race Not sure Unable to engage in therapy, no-shows a problem
Knowledge	What evidence do you have counselor that you are multiculturally competent?	Success of practice suggests my competence Verbal affirmations/feedback Very little No idea Continuous self-examination

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Racial Profile of White Counselors

Table 8 presents the profile based on findings from participant responses to the WRIAS and NRS scales. Over half of the participants had their highest WRIAS scores in the Autonomy status. When those whose highest scores were in Immersion/Emersion status are combined with the Autonomy group, 83% of the sample is accounted for. NRS scores did not vary much across the WRIAS statuses indicating that even though respondents might be placed in different racial identity development statuses, their racism scores did not vary very much. Scores in the 10-13 range on the NRS are supposed to indicate lack of evidence of an endorsement of racist attitudes profile about respondents.

Table 8

Racial Profile of White Counselors Based on WRIAS and NRS Scores

WRIAS Subscale	WRIAS (% of Sample)	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	NRS <i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Autonomy	(54)	34.99	3.90	10.75	1.75
Immersion/Emersion	(29)	32.68	4.97	12.01	2.68
Pseudo-Independent	(9.8)	32.50	3.20	11.45	2.32
Contact	(4.9)	28.91	3.48	13.91	3.80
Reintegration	(1.6)	16.80	3.63	12.83	3.52
Disintegration	(0.7)	20.18	3.12	13.03	3.24

Note. WRIAS = White Racial Identity Attitude Scale; NRS = New Racism Scale.

Relationship Between Racist Attitudes and White Racial Identity Development

The correlation between racist attitudes (represented by the NRS) and White Racial Identity Development (represented by the WRIAS) was non-significant, indicating no statistically significant relationship between the two variables in the present study. Helms (1993) proposed a

theoretical tenet that the statuses Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion and Autonomy, represent non-racist attitudes (Helms, 1993). The overall total scores of the subscales of the WRIAS and the NRS scores (See Table 9) did not demonstrate a significant relationship ($r = -0.23$, $p = < .05$). However, the data were in the expected direction but did not have statistical significance to support a relationship. Table 7 presents the interscale correlations.

Table 9

Pearson's Correlation Coefficients of the WRIAS Subscale Totals and the NRS

	WRIAS Total	NRS	<i>p</i>
WRIAS Total	1.00	-0.23050	.080
NRS	-0.2305	1.00	

N = 60, *p* < .05

Importance of Race to White Counselors

In considering how important race is to White counselors when working with Black clients, the Race Salience Questionnaire was utilized. Sixty-four percent of the participants attributed their perceptions of the client's subjectivity toward the counseling relationship as a hindrance rather than any of their feelings or biases. When asked what the counselor's initial thoughts were when counseling a Black client, 54% had "no thoughts" or questioned the client's thoughts and made guesses as to what the client may likely be thinking or feeling about the relationship. Additionally, participants tended to intersect race with socio-economic status or communication ability specific to the client. These factors were reported as seemingly more influential than race for counselors. Four participants acknowledged the client's perception of White privilege as a possible barrier to establishing trust with their Black clients. Although White privilege was

acknowledged by some of the participants, they tended to view systemic racism as more problematic than individual racist acts or thoughts. The findings in this study support previous studies (Constantine, 2002; Helms, 1995) suggesting that White counselors who have a cognitive understanding of racism may view themselves as more multiculturally competent (Neville, et al., 2006).

Participants were grouped into the following categories based on years in practice: Novice (0 – 4), Experienced (5 – 10) or Seasoned (11+). The number of participants was seemingly equal for each group. The Novice category consisted of 34% of the participants; the Experienced category consisted of 31%; and the Seasoned category consisted of 34% of the participants.

What are your initial thoughts when counseling a Black client? The themes from the descriptive analyses of the Race Salience Questionnaire are based on four thematic categories: (a) *Awareness*, (b) *Resistance*, (c) *Process*, and (d) *Knowledge*. The first question participants were asked, “What are your initial thoughts when counseling a Black client?” reflected the them termed *Awareness*. Twenty-one percent ($n = 13$) of the participants indicated that they had “no initial thoughts” when counseling a Black client. In addition, 33% ($n = 20$) questioned the client’s own comfort level in working with a White therapist and the therapist’s ability to relate to the Black client. None of the participants reported their own feelings or biases regarding Black clients at the onset of therapy. They presented their perceptions of what the client may be thinking or bringing to the counseling relationship. One participant questioned whether as a counselor, he or she was representing the “White race or self,” when considering what the client may be thinking about the cross-racial dyad.

The majority of the participants’ responses tended to minimize race within the counseling dyad tended to be evasive about their own thoughts and behaviors relative to race. This position tended to reflect their perceptions of the client’ thoughts and behaviors within the counseling

relationship. Similar to previous studies (Locke & Kiselica, 1999; Neville, et al., 2006), the White counselors' knowledge of multicultural counseling within this sample, tended to convey an ability to conceptualize, but the counselors' critical understanding of race, particularly within the counseling dyad, may be limited (Neville, et al., 2006).

What problems tend to exist within cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor? The second question (*Resistance*) of the Race Salience Questionnaire, "What problems tend to exist within cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor?" tended to prompt responses specific to the counselors' lack of awareness of cultural norms or fear of being offensive to the client. Nineteen percent ($n = 11$) did not respond or indicated they did not know what problems tended to exist within cross-racial counseling relationships. The (Black) client's lack of trust based on the race of the counselor was the most consistent response with 34% ($n = 21$) of counselors citing trust as a problem for the client. Establishing credibility with the client, communication/language and the client's perception that the counselor may be racist were reported problems for White counselors in cross-racial dyads.

What factors influence early termination or stall rapport building in cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor? The third question of the questionnaire that represented the theme *Process*. Of the responses, 27% ($n = 16$) responded that race was not an issue for early termination. Other responses included client's inability to engage, noncompliance and client's lack of trust toward the counselor. Fourteen percent ($n = 18$) cited the reason of socio-economic status (SES) as a factor that more likely terminated or stalled rapport building. Two (0.4%) counselors responded "not sure" as the reason for early termination or stalled rapport.

What evidence do you have as a counselor that you are multiculturally competent? The fourth and final question represented a theme of *Knowledge*. Forty-six percent ($n = 28$) of the participants responded that client affirmations or positive client feedback served as their measure

of competence. Twenty-three percent ($n = 14$) reported having diverse clientele in their practice as their measure of competence. One participant assumed competence with “nothing concrete,” but that he or she was competent nonetheless. Two (.4%) participants reported not knowing if they were competent or not and one (.2%) participant responded having “very little” evidence of competence.

Post Hoc Analysis of the NRS Relative to the WRIAS and Demographic Variables

A post hoc analysis was conducted because no statistically significant correlation was found between racial identity development and endorsed racist attitudes within this study. Additionally, the thematic analysis revealed contradictions in the counselors’ responses and the overall identified status (Autonomy). A post hoc analysis was carried out to consider whether there were significant differences relative to a counselor’s endorsed racist attitudes and racial identity development as a function of education, gender, age, and years in practice. A multivariate analysis of variance (Table 10) was conducted to determine if participants differed significantly by gender, age, education (master’s level or doctorate level) and years in practice. The results of the multivariate analysis indicated that there was not a statistically significant relationship between racial identity development and racist attitudes relative to age, gender, education and years in practice $F(13, 42) = 1.73, p = .080$.

Table 10

Multivariate Analysis of Variance of the NRS as a Function of the WRIAS and Demographic

Variables

Source	<i>df</i>	Sum of Squares	<i>Mean Square</i>	<i>f</i>
Model 0.080	13	60.3019909	4.6386147	1.73
Error	42	112.6565806	2.6822995	
Corrected Total	55	172.9585714		

N = 60, *p* < .05

NRS = New Racism Scale; WRIAS = White Racial Identity Attitude Scale.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research was to explore the relationship between White racial identity development and racist attitudes among White counselors within cross-racial counseling relationships with Black clients. Such research may help uncover underlying issues that may be detrimental within the counseling dyad. Constantine, Juby, and Liang (2001) reported that both higher levels of racism and reintegration racial identity attitudes were correlated with lower self-reported multicultural competence. The present study examined White counselors' racist attitudes and racial identity development within cross-racial counseling dyads in an effort to provide vital information about how such attitudes can influence their effectiveness in working with culturally diverse populations (Constantine, 2002). This chapter presents a summary of the results and a discussion of the implications for racial identity development within cross-racial dyads. Additionally, the limitations of the research, an evaluation and its importance for future research are discussed.

Discussion of Findings

The primary purpose of the present study was to examine how the constructs of White racial identity development and race-related attitudes within cross-racial dyads between White counselors and Black clients influence the counseling dyad. The study findings contribute to the sparse research specific to racial identity development, multicultural competence and race-related attitudes (Constantine, 2001). It is important to note that racial identity and racist attitudes are not unique to White therapist. Therapists of various other racial and ethnic groups demonstrate racist attitudes or biases (Li-Ripac, 1980). The significance, however, is that Whites benefit from racism, racist systems, and the feelings or thoughts that are attached are likely to be different than

those of other racial groups (Carter, 1995). Although racist attitudes are present in all groups, White therapists warrant consideration based on the benefit of White privilege (Rogers-Sirin, 2003).

It is important to note that Whites “are not assumed to be equivalently racist” (Carter, Helms, Juby, 2004, p. 2). Therefore, there is a need to focus not only on Whites’ attitudes toward other racial groups, but their awareness of their own racial group. In the present study, the subscales of the WRIAS did not yield significant evidence of racist attitudes. For example, Contact ($r = -.26$) and Disintegration ($r = .10$), the lowest of Helms’ six statuses possess characteristics of low racial identity development that foster poor interpersonal skills, low internal control and a preference for inequality between social groups (Hightower, 1997). Thus, a counselor operating in either of these statuses is likely to promote mistrust, low engagement or termination of the therapeutic relationship.

Specifically, the counselor operating in the Contact status in a cross-racial counseling dyad is likely to have difficulty establishing rapport and be ineffective for the client. The findings in this study demonstrated a flat NRS profile in which there was little variance among the scores. However, the study by Constantine, et al. (2001) associated higher NRS scores with lower racial identity development statuses. Similarly, participants in this study with higher scores in the Contact and Disintegration statuses had higher scores on the NRS (13.9 & 13, respectively).

Relationship Between White Racial Identity and Racism in the Sample

The complex relationships between White racial identity development and racist attitudes are evident in the current literature. As previously reported, racial identity development is associated with endorsed racist attitudes. However, demographic variables (i.e., age, education, gender and years in practice) are not significant predictors of racial identity development or endorsed racist attitudes. Hence, demographic variables, such as age and years in practice may be unrelated to

White racial identity and racist attitudes generally. As identified in this study, the demographic variables (as noted in Table 3) do not explain racism.

Profile of Participants in Sample

The profile of White counselors, based on the results of the study, reflected participants operating in the Autonomy and Pseudo-Independence statuses. Counselors operating in the Autonomy status are likely to understand the complex factors associated with racial stimuli and are likely to establish greater rapport with Black clients than those counselors operating in the Contact status. Additionally, the counselor is able to interact flexibly with the client, thereby, promoting a positive client-counselor relationship. The therapeutic relationship in which the counselor's racial identity development is high is likely to initiate an open, honest dialogue, inclusive of race issues (Helms, 1995). Counselors operating at the Pseudo-Independence status are likely to distort information that is consistent with a liberal perspective (Silvestri & Richardson, 2001). This attitude includes behaviors that demonstrate movement toward self-actualization and an anti-racist ideology. In concert with this study and previous studies, Pseudo-Independence attitudes are reported to be negatively associated with racist attitudes. That is, counselors with higher Pseudo-Independence attitudes are less likely to harbor racist attitudes (Constantine, 2002) and would likely manage racial issues within cross-racial dyads with some degree of competence. Constantine et al. (2002) report that both Autonomy and Pseudo-Independence attitudes are associated with higher levels of multicultural competence that is likely to impact the therapeutic dyad positively.

Helms' (1995) racial identity statuses explain the intrapsychic, behavioral and cognitive attitudes of Whites. However, counselor profiles, including demographic variables, do not predict racial identity as do endorsed racist attitudes. The sample in this study consisted of licensed, master's and doctoral level counselors. The majority of counselors in the sample were

female with 11 plus years of experience (Seasoned). The majority of the counselors ranged in age between 35 to 44 years of age (41.9%). In response to the Race Salience Questionnaire, the participants tended to consider the perspective of the client rather than detailing personal biases or feelings relative to race. Counselor responses tended to be evasive relative to race, which is inconsistent with the results of the identified statuses Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy. Counselors operating at these statuses are more apt to be able to process and access more sophisticated methods of acknowledging and dealing with racial matters (Middleton, et al., 2005). A possible explanation for the inconsistencies of the Race Salience Questionnaire and reported racial identity statuses is the challenge of social desirability and counselors' efforts to conceal personal biases regarding other races. Additionally, the results of the study indicated moderate correlations of lower levels of racial identity development and higher endorsed racist attitudes (i.e., Contact and Disintegration). However, the majority of the participants reported racial identity development at the Immersion/Emersion (29%) and Autonomy (54%) statuses (Helms' highest statuses). The phenomenon of social desirability, which may be one of many factors, puts into question that counselors' perceived competence and their actual competence. Counselors operating at lower racial identity development are more prone to respond in socially acceptable ways rather than internally derived information (Middleton, et al., 2005). Thus, the influence of social desirability could contribute to measurement problems and inconsistencies within this study.

As discussed earlier, the Black and White counseling gap speaks to the lack of intrinsic and extrinsic cultural knowledge of the counselor and client. Relevant to the responses of counselors on the Race Salience Questionnaire there is the assumption that mistrust or lack of engagement is the result of the Black client's perception of the counselor. In conjunction with previous studies ,

White counselors tend to be unconscious or less aware of their own race and do not take into account the profound salience of race for others, specifically within counseling.

The Importance of Race to White Counselors

As reported by Helms (1995), White counselors are less likely to acknowledge race within the counseling dyad, which can attribute to low racial identity development, low competence and perceived deficits of the client rather than any deficits of the counselor. Similarly, counselors participating in the present study appeared to evade the question of race and attribute relationship difficulties to other constructs, specifically, socio-economic status. Counselors must be willing to address the gap that often times exists between White counselors and Black clients. Therefore, it may be of consequence that counselors evaluate their own intrinsic values, biases and assumptions regarding other races in an effort to be culturally sensitive and meet the clinical needs of diverse clients rather than relying on factors that do not promote increased self- and racial awareness.

Limitations

Although the present study provides valuable information concerning racial identity development and race-related attitudes, the results and implications must be considered in light of potential limitations. One caution that should be considered when generalizing the findings to all White counselors is response bias. Participants who returned or completed the survey packet online may have had an interest in the topic and may have differed from those who did not respond. Second, the small sample size. This may be based on several factors which include the multiple instruments that the participants were requested to complete; the mixed-mode delivery of the survey (i.e., pencil-and-paper, web based) and the effects of social desirability. Social desirability was likely a factor based on the topic and the emotions attached to it. Jacobson (Personal communication, September 28, 2006) reports that people are less likely to respond

honestly to something that others will disapprove. Third, self-report measures allow participants to anticipate a desired or acceptable response rather than the actual attitudes or behaviors of the participants. Participants may have perceived what the research intent was based on the instruments themselves and responded according to the perceived cues. Relative to the Race Salience Questionnaire, the responses made by participants reflected expressions toward client behaviors or attitudes that may stall or terminate the counseling relationship rather than their own attitudes. Additionally, the Race Salience Questionnaire was developed by the researcher and has not been examined for validity to the extent that the other instruments have. The responses may have been an effect of social desirability, the questions themselves, or the approach may have been flawed.

Implications for Clinical Practice

The findings of this study have implications for counselors when working with diverse racial and ethnic groups. The need to examine racial identity attitudes and racism within the counseling relationship is important to consider, both from a research perspective and in relation to the counselor's perceived and actual multicultural competence (Constantine, 2001). Many clinicians may be hesitant to address race in therapy sessions because of fear of being offensive (Helms & Cook, 1999). Counselors must first confront their own biases and prejudices about other racial groups in order for open discussions to occur with their clients (Pinderhughes, 1989). Counselors must be aware how they may collude, consciously or unconsciously, with racism, specifically within the cross-racial counseling dyad (Helms, 1995).

The current study adds to the research in understanding the dynamics of race and racial identity development in the counseling relationship. Research that focuses on race gives support to graduate counseling programs in effectively evaluating their curriculum so that issues of race are specifically addressed in preparing practitioners to be effective with specific skill sets for

working with racially diverse clients (Arredondo, 1999). However, more research is needed before programs can be reconstructed because race is a complex construct that generates extreme emotions (i.e., fear, denial, anger). Therefore, the influence of race must be considered with care in an effort to prepare counselors to be multiculturally competent.

Finally, effective clinical work may be hindered when White counselors deny, distort or minimize race within the counseling dyad (Utsey, et al., 2005). Therefore, in order to achieve a higher level of racial identity White counselors must address and process their own biases and assumptions about other races. In support of racial identity development, Otavi et al. (1994) remarked that racial identity development is a process that should be explored to help counselors “from remaining intellectually hampered about racial issues or pretending to have a comfort level they do not truly feel” (p. 153).

Recommendations for Further Research

Limitations notwithstanding, this research is significant in examining racial identity development and racist attitudes within the counseling dyad. It is important to consider the role of race and the identity development of the counselor in an effort to promote multicultural competence. It is vital that counselors examine their own interpersonal process issues within the cross-racial dyad in order to identify those processes that stall or halt effective outcomes (Constantine, 2001).

Research that speaks to racial identity development and multicultural competence in counseling is still in its early stages (Middleton, et al., 2005). However, there is support that racial identity development and competence are closely linked because the attainment of higher racial identity status has been demonstrated to increase the functioning of the other. Therefore, counselors who eliminate racist attitudes are less likely to negatively impact the cross-racial counseling relationship (Middleton, et al., 2005). Further research is needed in assessing racial

identity development, racist attitudes and multicultural competence that rely less on self-reports so that the methods of assessing are more objective rather than subjective. Similar to other research, the participants' subjectivity on self-reports may be based on the participants' perceived racial identity rather than the participants' actual development. Self-reports, although useful, may be more so when supplemented with measures that tend to be more objective.

Second, similar to the findings of Middleton, et al. (2005) assessing racial identity development, multicultural competence and counselor demographics, the findings in the present study did not demonstrate patterns of relationship to racial identity development, racist attitudes and demographic variables. In the present study, a statistically significant relationship did not exist among racial identity development, racist attitudes and demographic variables. This is important to consider for future research because the discriminant validity of the WRIAS has been addressed and argued by Helms (1997). Open criticism implies that the scales may not be measuring pure constructs relative to racial identity (Middleton, et al., 2005). Helms suggests that the scales are developmental rather than isolated constructs. This may provide an avenue for follow-up research to further examine the associations between racial identity development and racist attitude and more solidly determine the instrument's construct validity.

Finally, the effect of racial identity development and racist attitudes within cross-racial counseling dyads is an area that warrants ongoing study. Counseling programs that consider racial identity development within their curriculum, at a minimum, may set the stage for discussion and introspection for new counselors. As the face of counseling continues to change multicultural competence becomes even more pertinent as counselors continue to engage with intention with their diverse clients and recognize the impact of identity development cross-culturally.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

July 2006

Dear Participant,

Thank you for participating in this research study to examine the racial identity development and attitudes of White, practicing counselors.

This research is important to consider because few studies focus on the racial identity development and attitudes of the counselor in relation to race within the counseling dyad. Therefore, by participating in this study you will be adding to the knowledge base of counseling, race, and racial identity development.

Please complete the forms included in this packet. The raffle entry form is optional and it is our way of saying “thank you” for participating in this important research. There are three monetary prizes (\$25.00, \$15.00, and \$10.00) that will be mailed to the winning participant once all the packets are received. Please mail the forms back in the pre-paid envelope or return to the person who gave it to you by **July 15, 2006**.

If additional information is needed you may contact me, the primary investigator, at 919.949.5280 (cell) or 919.403.8055. Emails are welcome if the communication does not breach confidentiality- donnakornegay@nc.rr.com.

Sincerely,

Donna Chandler Kornegay, LPC, NCC
Doctoral Candidate
North Carolina State University

Stanley B. Baker, PhD, LPC, NCC
Professor/Advisor
North Carolina State University

cc: Enclosures

APPENDIX B

North Carolina State University Informed Consent for Research

Title of Study: The Influence of Racist Attitudes and Racial Identity Development Among White Counselors Within Cross-Racial Counseling Dyads with Black Clients

Principal Investigator: Donna Chandler Kornegay

Faculty Sponsor: Dr. Stanley Baker

We are asking you to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to investigate White counselors' racial identity development as it relates to racist attitudes and how these behaviors and attitudes influence the cross-racial dynamics within counseling between White counselors and Black clients.

INFORMATION

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to complete the demographic questionnaire regardless of your race. If you self-identify as "White", please complete the Demographic Questionnaire, the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS), the New Racism Scale (NRS) and the Race Salience Questionnaire. If you self-identify as "Black" or "person of color," please complete the Demographic Questionnaire, the People of Color Identity Attitude Scale (POCRIAS) and the Race Salience Questionnaire. The raffle entry form should be completed by anyone who wants to be included in the drawing for the monetary prize (\$25.00, \$15.00, and \$10.00). It is optional and will not be linked to participants' responses. Completing the WRIAS, NRS and demographic questionnaire should take approximately 30-45 minutes. Completing the POCRIAS and the demographic questionnaire should take approximately 20-30 minutes.

RISKS

The topic of race most often produces racially charged emotions. It is not the intent of this researcher to cause discomfort of the participants. However, some of the questions relative to race may cause minimal risk. Some participants may learn new information about themselves regarding their racial identity development that may produce anxiety, concern or distress. Completion of the New Racism Scale, White Racial Identity Attitude Scale and the People of Color Identity Attitude Scale does not suggest that the participant is racist. Should this occur participants may contact the researcher for debriefing or assistance in locating a licensed counselor.

BENEFITS

The benefits from this research may be that counselors, regardless of race, will achieve a sense of self-understanding and how their behaviors and attitudes towards race influence not only the counseling relationship, but also relationships in general. At a minimum, both counselor and the

participants of this study will gain some sense of where they stand in terms of race, racial identity development and racist attitudes.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The information and records of this study will be kept in the strictest confidence. Data will be stored in a secure, locked file box with only the investigator and faculty advisor possessing the key. No reference will be made in oral or written reports that could link you to the study. A designee, not associated with this research or the field of counseling and who does not familiarity with any of the scales, will be assigned to open and separate entry forms from the scales as to maintain anonymity of the participants. All documents will be destroyed at the completion of the research.

COMPENSATION

For participating in this study you will receive the opportunity to enter once in a raffle drawing for three monetary prizes (\$25.00, \$15.00, and \$10.00). You may withdraw from this study at any time; only participants who complete packets and choose to participate in the raffle will be entered.

CONTACT

If you have questions at anytime about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, Donna Chandler Kornegay, at 5305 Greyfield Boulevard Durham, North Carolina 27713 or 919/403-8055. If you feel you have not been treated according to the information on this form, or your rights as a participant have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Matthew Zingraff, Chair of the North Carolina State University Institutional Review Board for the Use of Human Subjects in Research Committee, Box 7514, NCSU Campus 919/513-1834 or Mr. Matthew Ronning, Assistant Vice Chancellor, Research Administration, Box 7514, NCSU Campus 919/513-2148.

PARTICIPATION

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty and without loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. If you withdraw from the study before data collection is completed, your data will be returned to you or destroyed at your request.

CONSENT

“I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study with the understanding that I may withdraw at any time. I understand that the return of the completed instruments to the researcher serve as informed consent on my behalf.”

This information is for you to keep.

APPENDIX D

NEW RACISM SCALE

Instructions: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes concerning race and ethnicity. There is no right or wrong answer. Use the scale below to respond to each question according to the way you see things. Be honest. Beside each item check the response that best describes how you feel.

1. Do you feel Blacks in this country have tried to move:
 - _____ (3) too fast
 - _____ (2) too slow
 - _____ (1) at about the right pace?

2. Would it upset you personally
 - _____ (4) a lot
 - _____ (3) some but not a lot
 - _____ (2) only a little
 - _____ (1) not at all

if Blacks moved into this neighborhood?

3. It's been said that if Black children all went to school with White children, the education of White children would suffer. The reason given is that the Black children would hold back the White children. Do you believe that or not?
 - _____ (1) don't believe
 - _____ (2) not sure
 - _____ (3) believe

4. Blacks are more likely to make progress in the future by being patient and not pushing so hard for change:
 - _____ (1) disagree
 - _____ (2) not sure
 - _____ (3) agree

5. If a fully qualified Black whose views were acceptable to you were nominated to run for president, how likely do you think you would be to vote for that candidate?
 - _____ (1) very likely
 - _____ (4) not at all likely

6. Whether you agree or not with the idea of affirmative action, do you think Blacks are given special consideration and hired before Whites for jobs
 - _____ (4) frequently _____ (3) occasionally _____ (2) hardly ever _____ (1) or never at all?

7. How about in higher education institutions, that is, colleges and universities? Do you think Blacks are given special consideration and admitted before Whites in higher education institutions

_____ (4) frequently _____ (3) occasionally _____ (2) hardly ever _____ (1) never at all?

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APPENDIX E

WRIAS Social Attitudes Scale

Instruction: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's attitudes about social and political issues. There are no right or wrong answers. Different people have different viewpoints. So try to be as honest as you can. Beside each statement, circle the number that best describes how you feel. Use the scale below to respond to each statement.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
1 2 3 4 5	1.	I hardly ever think about what race I am.		
1 2 3 4 5	2.	There is nothing I can do by myself.		
1 2 3 4 5	3.	I get angry when I think about how Whites have been treated by Blacks.		
1 2 3 4 5	4.	I feel as comfortable around Blacks as I do around Whites.		
1 2 3 4 5	5.	I am making a special effort to understand the significance of being White.		
1 2 3 4 5	6.	I involve myself in causes regardless of the race of the people involved in them.		
1 2 3 4 5	7.	I find myself watching Black people to see what they are like.		
1 2 3 4 5	8.	I feel depressed after I have been around Black people.		
1 2 3 4 5	9.	There is nothing that I want to learn about Blacks.		
1 2 3 4 5	10.	I enjoy watching the different ways that Blacks and Whites approach life.		
1 2 3 4 5	11.	I am taking definite steps to define an identity for myself that includes working against racism.		
1 2 3 4 5	12.	I seek out new experiences even if I know that no other Whites will be involved in them.		
1 2 3 4 5	13.	I wish I had more Black friends.		
1 2 3 4 5	14.	I do not believe that I have the social skills to interact with Black people effectively.		
1 2 3 4 5	15.	A Black person who tries to get close to you is usually after something.		
1 2 3 4 5	16.	Blacks and Whites have much to learn from each other.		

- 1 2 3 4 5 17. Rather than focusing on other races, I am searching for information to help me understand White people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 18. Black people and I share jokes with each other about our racial experiences.
- 1 2 3 4 5 19. I think Black people and White people do not differ from each other in any important ways.
- 1 2 3 4 5 20. I just refuse to participate in discussions about race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 21. I would rather socialize with Whites only.
- 1 2 3 4 5 22. I believe that Blacks would not be different from Whites if they had been given the same opportunities.
- 1 2 3 4 5 23. I believe that I receive special privileges because I am White.
- 1 2 3 4 5 24. When a Black person holds an opinion with which I disagree, I am not afraid to express my opinion.
- 1 2 3 4 5 25. I do not notice a person's race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 26. I have come to believe that Black and White people are very different.
- 1 2 3 4 5 27. White people have tried extremely hard to make up for their ancestors' mistreatment of Blacks. Now it is time to stop!
- 1 2 3 4 5 28. It is possible for Blacks and Whites to have meaningful social relationships with each other.
- 1 2 3 4 5 29. I am making an effort to decide what type of White person I want to be.
- 1 2 3 4 5 30. I feel comfortable in social settings in which there are no Blacks. people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 31. I am curious to learn in what ways Black people and White people differ from each other.
- 1 2 3 4 5 32. I do not express some of my beliefs about race because I do not want to make White people mad at me.
- 1 2 3 4 5 33. Society may have been unfair to Blacks, but it has been just as unfair to Whites.
- 1 2 3 4 5 34. I am knowledgeable about which values Blacks and Whites share.
- 1 2 3 4 5 35. I am examining how racism relates to who I am.

- 1 2 3 4 5 36. I am comfortable being myself in situations in which there are no other White people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 37. In my family, we never talk about race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 38. When I interact with Black people, I usually let them make the first move because I do not want to offend them.
- 1 2 3 4 5 39. I feel hostile when I am around Blacks.
- 1 2 3 4 5 40. I believe that Black people know more about racism than I do.
- 1 2 3 4 5 41. I am involved in discovering how other White people have positively defined themselves as White people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 42. I have refused to accept privileges that were given to me because I am White.
- 1 2 3 4 5 43. A person's race is not important to me.
- 1 2 3 4 5 44. Sometimes I am not sure what to think or feel about White people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 45. I believe that Blacks are inferior to Whites.
- 1 2 3 4 5 46. I believe that a White person cannot be a racist if he or she has a Black friend(s).
- 1 2 3 4 5 47. I am becoming aware of the strengths and limitations of my White culture.
- 1 2 3 4 5 48. I think that White people must end racism in this country because they created it.
- 1 2 3 4 5 49. I think that dating Black people is a good way for White people to learn about Black culture.
- 1 2 3 4 5 50. Sometimes I am not sure what I think or feel about Black people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 51. When I am the only White in a group of Blacks, I feel anxious.
- 1 2 3 4 5 52. Blacks and Whites differ from each other in some ways, but neither race is superior.
- 1 2 3 4 5 53. Given the chance, I would work with other White people to discover what being White means to me.
- 1 2 3 4 5 54. I am not embarrassed to say that I am White.

- 1 2 3 4 5 55. I think White people should become more involved
in socializing with Blacks.
- 1 2 3 4 5 56. I do not understand why Black people blame me for their
social misfortunes.
- 1 2 3 4 5 57. I believe that Whites are more attractive and express
themselves better than Blacks.
- 1 2 3 4 5 58. I believe that White people cannot have a meaningful
discussion about racism unless there is a Black or other
minority person present to help them understand the
effects of racism.
- 1 2 3 4 5 59. I am considering changing some of my behaviors
because I think that they are racist.
- 1 2 3 4 5 60. I am continually examining myself to make sure that my
way of being White is not racist.
61. Estimate the percentages of your neighbors that are in
each of the following groups:
_____ Asian _____ Black _____ Hispanic
_____ Native American _____ White
62. Indicate the numbers of your closest friends who are
members of the following groups:
_____ Asian _____ Black _____ Hispanic
_____ Native American _____ White

APPENDIX F

PRIAS Social Attitudes Inventory

Instructions: This questionnaire is designed to measure people's social and political attitudes concerning race and ethnicity. Since different people have different opinions, there are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement according to the way you see things. Be as honest as you can. Beside each item number, circle the number that best describes how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5	
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	
1 2 3 4 5	1.	In general, I believe that Anglo-Americans (Whites) are superior to other racial groups.			
1 2 3 4 5	2.	I feel more comfortable being around Anglo-Americans (Whites) than I do being around people of my own race.			
1 2 3 4 5	3.	In general, people of my race have not contributed very much to American society.			
1 2 3 4 5	4.	Sometimes, I am embarrassed to be the race I am.			
1 2 3 4 5	5.	I would have accomplished more in life if I had been born an Anglo-American.			
1 2 3 4 5	6.	Anglo-Americans (Whites) are more attractive than people of my race.			
1 2 3 4 5	7.	People of my race should learn to think and act like Anglo-Americans (Whites).			
1 2 3 4 5	8.	I limit myself to White activities.			
1 2 3 4 5	9.	I think racial minorities blame Anglo-Americans (Whites) too much for their problems.			
1 2 3 4 5	10.	I feel unable to involve myself in Anglo-Americans' (Whites') experiences, and am increasing involvement in experiences involving people of my race.			
1 2 3 4 5	11.	When I think about how Anglo-Americans (Whites) have treated people of my race, I feel an overwhelming anger.			
1 2 3 4 5	12.	I want to know more about my culture.			
1 2 3 4 5	13.	I limit myself to activities involving people of my own race.			
1 2 3 4 5	14.	Most Anglo-Americans (Whites) are untrustworthy.			

- 1 2 3 4 5 15. American society would be better off if it were based on the cultural values of my people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 16. I am determined to find my cultural identity.
- 1 2 3 4 5 17. Most Anglo-Americans (whites) are insensitive.
- 1 2 3 4 5 18. I reject all Anglo-American (White) values.
- 1 2 3 4 5 19. My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of my people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 20. I believe that being from my cultural background has caused me to have many strengths.
- 1 2 3 4 5 21. I am comfortable wherever I am.
- 1 2 3 4 5 22. People, regardless of their race, have strengths and limitations.
- 1 2 3 4 5 23. I think people of my culture and the White culture differ from each other in some ways, but neither group is superior.
- 1 2 3 4 5 24. My cultural background is a source of pride to me.
- 1 2 3 4 5 25. People of my culture and White culture have much to learn from each other.
- 1 2 3 4 5 26. Anglo-Americans (Whites) have some customs that I enjoy.
- 1 2 3 4 5 27. I enjoy being around people regardless of their race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 28. Every racial group has some good people and some bad people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 29. Minorities should not blame Anglo-Americans (Whites) for all of their social problems.
- 1 2 3 4 5 30. I do not understand why Anglo-Americans (Whites) treat minorities as they do.
- 1 2 3 4 5 31. I am embarrassed about some of the things I feel about my people.
- 1 2 3 4 5 32. I'm not sure where I really belong.
- 1 2 3 4 5 33. I have begun to question my beliefs.
- 1 2 3 4 5 34. Maybe I can learn something from people of my race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 35. Anglo-American (White) people can teach me more about surviving in this world than people of my own race can, but people of my race can teach me more about being human.

- 1 2 3 4 5 36. I don't know whether being the race I am is an asset or a deficit.
- 1 2 3 4 5 37. Sometimes I think Anglo-Americans (Whites) are superior and
sometimes I think they're inferior to people of my race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 38. Sometimes I am proud of the racial group to which I belong and
sometimes I am ashamed of it.
- 1 2 3 4 5 39. Thinking about my values and beliefs takes up a lot of my time.
- 1 2 3 4 5 40. I'm not sure how I feel about myself.
- 1 2 3 4 5 41. White people are difficult to understand.
- 1 2 3 4 5 42. I find myself replacing old friends with new ones who are from
my culture.
- 1 2 3 4 5 43. I feel anxious about some of the things I feel about people of my
race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 44. When someone of my race does something embarrassing in
public, I feel embarrassed.
- 1 2 3 4 5 45. When both White people and people of my race are present in a
social situation, I prefer to be with my own racial group.
- 1 2 3 4 5 46. My values and beliefs match those of Anglos (Whites) more than
they do people of my race.
- 1 2 3 4 5 47. The way Anglos (Whites) treat people of my race makes me
angry.
- 1 2 3 4 5 48. I only follow the traditions and customs of people of my racial
group.
- 1 2 3 4 5 49. When people of my race act like Anglos (Whites) I feel angry.
- 1 2 3 4 5 50. I am comfortable being the race I am.

APPENDIX G

Race Salience Questionnaire

Instructions: Please answer the following questions as honestly as you can. Do not include any identifying information. Your responses will be held in confidence.

1. What are your initial thoughts when counseling a Black client?

2. What problems tend to exist within cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor?

3. What factors influence early termination or stall rapport building in cross-racial counseling relationships for you as a counselor?

4. What evidence do you have as a counselor that you are multiculturally competent?

Questions compiled by Donna Kornegay, doctoral candidate, North Carolina State University (April 2006)

APPENDIX H

Raffle Entry Form

Name: _____

Address: _____

Zip Code _____

Please return this form if you are interested in participating in the raffle for a chance to win one of three monetary prizes (\$25.00, \$15.00 and \$10.00). After the winners are drawn all entry forms will be destroyed and will not be linked to any of the participants' responses. Names will be drawn the day after the deadline noted in the cover letter.